

BEHEMOTH;

---

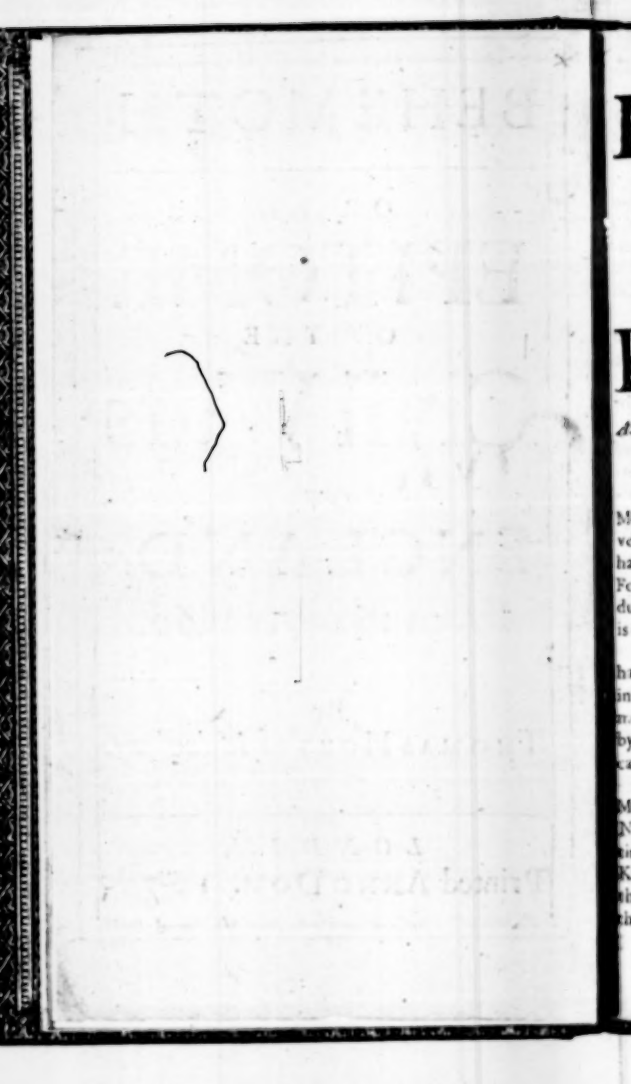
OR AN  
EPITOME  
OF THE  
Civil Wars  
OF  
ENGLAND,  
From 1640. to 1660.

---

By  
THOMAS HOBS of *Malmsbury.*

---

L O N D O N,  
Printed ANNO DOM. 1679





I

THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
**Civil Wars**  
OF  
ENGLAND.

A. IF in time, as in place there were Degrees of high and low ; I verily believe that the highest of time, would be that which passeth betwixt, 1640, and 1660. For he that thence as from the Devils Mountain, should have looked upon the World, and observed the Actions of Men, especially in *England*, might have had a prospect of all kinds of Injustice , and of all kinds of Folly that the world could afford, and how they were produced by their Hypocrisy and self-conceit, whereof the one is double Iniquity, and the other double Folly.

B. I should be glad to behold the Prospect. You that have lived in that time, and in that part of your Age ; wherein Men used to see best into good and evil ; I pray you set me (that could not see so well) upon the same Mountain, by the relation of the actions you then saw , and of their causes, Pretentions, Justice, Order, Artifice and Events.

A. In the year 1640. The Government of *England* was Monarchical, and the King that reigned, *Charles* the I. of that Name, holding the Sovereignty by Right of a Discent continued above 600 years ; and from a much longer Discent King of *Scotland*, and from the Time of his Ancestors *Henry* the 2. King of *Ireland*, a man that wanted no Vertue, either of Body or Mind, nor endeavour'd any thing more,

than to discharge his duty towards his God, in the well-governing of his Subjects.

*B.* How could he than miscarry, having in every County so many Train'd-bands, as would (put together) have made an Army of 60000 Men, and divers Magazines of Ammunition, in places fortified.

If those Souldiers had been (as they and all others of his Subjects ought to have been) at his Majesties command: The Peace and Happiness of the three Kingdoms, had continued, as it was left by *K. James*; but the people were corrupted generally, and Disobedient Persons esteemed the best Patriots.

*B.* But sure, there were Men enough, besides those that were ill-affected, to have made an Army sufficient for to have kept the People from uniting into a Body able to oppose him.

*A.* Truly, if the King had had Money, I think he might have had Souldiers enough in *England*; for there were very few of the common People that cared much for either of the Causes, but would have taken any side for pay and plunder: But the Kings Treasure was very low, and his Enemies that pretended the Peoples ease from Taxes, and other specious things, had the Command of the Purse of the City of *London*, and of most Cities and Corporate Towns in *England*, and of many particular Persons besides.

*B.* But how comes the People to be so corrupted, and what kind of People were they that did so seduce them?

*A.* The Seducers were of divers sorts. One sort were *Ministers*, *Ministers* (as they called themselves) of Christ; and sometimes in their Sermons to the People Gods Embassadors, pretending to have a Right from God to govern every one his Parish, and their Assembly, the whole Nation.

*Secondly*, There were a very great number, though not comparable to the other, which notwithstanding that the Popes Power in *England*, both Temporal and Ecclesiastical had been by Act of Parliament abolished, did still retain a belief, that we ought to be governed by the Pope; whom they pretended to be the Vicar of Christ, and in the Right of Christ to be the Governour of all Christian People, and these were known by the Name of *PAPISTS*, as the *Ministers*

## Civil Wars of England.

3

I mentioned before, were commonly called *PRESBYTERIANS*.

*Thirdly*, There were not a few, who in the beginning of the Troubles were not discovered, but shortly after declared themselves for a Liberty in Religion, and those of different Opinions one from another: Some of them (because they would have all Congregations free and independent upon one another) were called *INDEPENDANTS*; others that held Baptism to Infants, and such as understood not into what they are Baptized to be ineffectual, were called therefore *ANABAPTISTS*: Others that held, that Christs Kingdom was at this time to begin upon Earth, were called *FIFTH-MONARCHY-MEN*; besides divers other Sects as *QUAKERS*, *ADAMITES*, &c. whose names and peculiar Doctrines I do not very well remember, and these were the Enemies, which arose against his Majesty from the private Interpretation of the Scripture exposed to every Mans scanning in his Mother Tongue.

*Fourthly*, There were an exceeding great number of Men of the greater sort, that had been so educated, as that in their youth having read the Books written by famous men of the Ancient *Grecian* and *Roman* Commonwealths, concerning their Policy and great Actions, in which Book the Popular Government was extol'd by that glorious Name of Liberty, and Monarchy disgraced by the Name of Tyranny: they became thereby in love with their form of Government: And out of these men were chosen the greatest part of the *HOUSE OF COMMONS*: Or if they were not the greatest part, yet by advantage of their Eloquence were always able to sway the rest.

*Fifthly*, The City of *London*, and other great Towns of Trade, having in admiration the prosperity of the low Countries, after they had revolted from their Monarch, the King of *Spain*, were inclined to think, that the like change of Government here would to them produce the like prosperity.

*Sixthly*, There were a very great Number, that had either wasted their fortunes, or thought them too mean for the good part? they thought were in themselves: and more there were that had able bodies, and saw no means how hon-

nestly to get their Bread: These longed for a War, and hoped to maintain themselves hereafter by the lucky chusing of a Party to side with, and consequently did for the most part serve under them, that had greatest plenty of Money.

*Lastly*, The People in general were so ignorant of their Duties, as that not one perhaps of 1000. knew what Right any man had to command him, or what necessity there was of King or Commonwealth, for which he was to part with his Money against his will, but thought himself to be so much Master of whatsoever he possessed, that it could not be taken from him upon any pretence of Common Safety without his own consent. King, they thought was but a Title of the highest honour, which *Gentlemen, Knights, Baron, Earl, Duke*, were but steps to ascend to with the help of Riches, and had no Rule of Equity, but Precedents and Custom, and he was thought wisest and fittest to be chosen for a Parliament, who was worst averse to the granting of Subsidies, or other publick Payments.

*B.* In such a Constitution of People, methinks the King is already outed of his Government: so as they need not have taken Arms for it: For I cannot imagine, how the King should come by any means to resist them.

*A.* There was indeed very great difficulty in the business, but of that point you will be better informed in the pursuit of this Narration.

*B.* But I desire to know first the several grounds of the Pretences, both of the *Pope* and of the *Presbyterians*, by which they claim a Right to govern us, as they do in chief, and after that, from whence, and when crept in the Pretences of that *Long Parliament* for a *Democrasie*.

*A.* As for the *Papists*, they challenge this Right from a Text in *Deut. 7.* and other like Texts, according to the Old *Latin Translation*, in these words, *And he that out of Pride shall refuse to obey the Commandment of that Priest, which shall at that time Minister before the Lord thy God, that man shall, by the Sentence of the Judge, be put to Death*: And because the *Jews* were the people of God then, so is all Christendom the People of God now, they infer from thence, that the *Pope*, whom they pretend to be

be H  
obey  
Death  
faith  
go to  
name  
and t  
mana  
of the  
Natio  
ally b  
Succ  
/ B.  
the C  
Priest  
Case  
tions  
less w  
Christ  
that A  
The  
King  
and a  
diatel  
berna  
Temp  
words  
Discip  
a Subj  
mandi  
preted  
of Maj  
Lieute  
to dec  
of Pow  
not ve  
A. I  
mine  
Court

## Civil Wars of England.

5

be High Priest of all Christian People, ought also to be obeyed in all his Decrees by all Christians upon pain of Death: Again, whereas in the *New Testament*: Christ saith, *all Power is given unto me in Heaven and in Earth, go therefore and teach all Nations, and baptize them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and teach them to observe all those things, that I have commanded you*, from thence they infer, that the Command of the Apostles was to be obeyed, and by consequence the Nations were bound to be governed by them, and especially by the Prince of the Apostles, *St. Peter*, and by his Successors the *Popes of Rome*.

B. For the Text in the Old Testament, I do not see how the Commandment of God to the *Jews* to obey their Priests can be interpreted to have the like force in the Case of the other Nations Christian, more then upon Nations Unchristian: For all the World are Gods People, unless we also grant, that a King cannot of an Infidel be made Christian without making himself subject to the Laws of that Apostle or Priest, or Minister, that shall convert him. The *Jews* were a peculiar people of God, a Sacerdotal Kingdom, and bound to no other Law, but what first *Moses*, and afterwards every High Priest did go and receive immediately from the Mouth of God in Mount *Sinai* in the Tabernacle of the Ark, and in the *Sanctum Sanctorum* of the Temple. And for the Text in *St. Matthew*: I know the words in the Gospel are not, *Go teach*, but *Go and make Disciples*; and that there is a great difference between a Subject and a Disciple, and between teaching and commanding; and if such Texts as these must be so interpreted, why do not Christian Kings lay down their Titles of Majesty and Sovereignty, and call themselves the *Popes* Lieutenants? But the Doctors of the *Romish Church* seem to decline that Title of *Absolute Power*, in their distinction of *Power Spiritual* and *Temporal*, but this Distinction I do not well understand.

A. By *Spiritual Power* they mean the Power to determine Points of Faith, and to be Judges in the Inner Court of Conscience of Moral Duties, and of a Power to

punish those men that obey not their Precepts by Ecclesiastical Censure, that is, by Excommunication; and this Power, they say, the *Pope* hath immediately from Christ, without dependance upon any King or Sovereign Assemblies, whose Subjects they be that stand Excommunicate: But for the Power Temporal, which consists in judging and punishing those actions, that are done against the Civil Law, they say, they do not pretend to it directly, but onely indirectly; that is to say, as far forth as such actions tend to the hinderance or advancement of Religion, *in ordine ad spiritualia*.

B. What Power then is left to Kings and other Civil Sovereigns, which the *Pope* may not pretend to be *in ordine ad spiritualia*?

A. None, or very little; and this Power the *Pope* not onely pretends to in all Christendom, but some of his Bishops also in their several Diocesses, *jure Divino*; that is, immediately from Christ, without deriving it from the *Pope*.

B. But what if a man refuse Obedience to this pretended Power of the *Pope* and his Bishops, what harm can Excommunication do him, especially if he be a Subject of another Sovereign?

A. Very great harm; for by the *Popes* or Bishops signification of it to the Civil Power, he shall be punished sufficiently.

B. He were in an ill case then that adventured to write or speak in defence of the Civil Power, that must be punished by him, whose Rights he defended like *Uzza*, that was slain, because he would needs, unbidden, put forth his hand to keep the Ark from falling. But what if a whole Nation should revolt from the *Pope* at once? what effect could Excommunication have upon the Nation?

A. Why they should have no more Mass said by any of the *Pope's* Priests. Besides, the *Pope* would have no more to with them, but cast them off; and so they would be in the same case as if a Nation should be cast by their King, and left to be governed by themselves, or whom they would.

B. This

B. This would not so much be taken for a punishment to the People as to the King; and therefore when a Pope Excommunicates a whole Nation, me-thinks he rather Excommunicates himself than them. But I pray you tell me what were the Rights the Pope pretended to in Kingdoms of other Princes?

A. First, an exemption of all Priests, Friers, and Monks in Criminal Causes, from the Cognizance of Civil Judges. Secondly, Collation of Benefices on whom he pleased, Native or Stranger; and Exaction of Tenths, Fruits, and other Payments. Thirdly, Appeals to Rome in all Causes, where the Church could pretend to be concern'd. Fourthly, To be the Supreme Judge concerning the Lawfulness of Marriage, (*i. e.* concerning the Hereditary Succession of Kings) and to have the Cognizance of all Causes concerning Adultery and Fornication.

B. Good! a Monopoly of Women.

A. Fifthly, a power of absolving Subjects of their Duties, and of their Oaths of Fidelity to their Lawful Sovereigns, when the Pope should think fit, for the extirpation of Heresie.

B. This power of absolving Subjects of their obedience, as also that other of being Judges of Manners and Doctrine, is as absolute a Sovereignty as if possible to be; and consequently there must be two Kingdoms in one and the same Nation, and so no man be able to know which of his Masters he must obey.

A. For my part, I should rather obey that Master that had the Right of making Laws, and of inflicting Punishments, than him that pretendeth onely to a right of making Canons, that is to say, Rules: and no Right of Co-action, or otherwise Punishing, but by Excommunication.

B. But the Pope pretends also, that his Canons are Laws; and for punishing, can there be a greater than Excommunication, supposing it true (as the Pope saith it is) that he that dies Excommunicate is damn'd; which supposition, it seems, you believe not, else you would rather have chosen to obey the Pope, that could cast your

Body and Soul into Hell, than the King that can onely kill the Body.

A. You say true; for it were very uncharitable in me to believe, that all *Englishmen* (except a few *Papists*) that have been born and called Hereticks, ever since the Reformation of Religion in *England*, should be damn'd.

B. But for those that die Excommunicate in the Church of *England* at this day, do you not think them also damn'd? and he that is Excommunicate for disobedience to the King's Law, either Spiritual or Temporal, is Excommunicate for sin, and therefore if he die Excommunicate, and without desire of reconciliation, he dies impenitent; you see what follows. But to die in disobedience to the Precepts and Doctrine of those men, that have no Authority or Jurisdiction over us, is quite another case, and bringeth no such danger with it.

B. But what is this Heresie which the Church of *Rome* so cruelly persecutes, as to depose Kings that do not, when they are bidden turn all Hereticks out of their Dominions?

A. Heresie is a Word, which when it is used without passion, signifies a private Opinion; so the different Sect of the old Philosophers, *Academians*, *Peripateticks*, *Epicureans*, *Stoicks*, &c. were called Heresie: But in the Christian Church, there was, in the signification of that word, comprehended, a sinful opposition to him that was chief Judge of Doctrines in order to the Salvation of mens Souls; and consequently Heresie may be said to bear the same relation to the Power Spiritual, that Rebellion doth to the Power Temporal, and is suitably to be persecuted by him that will preserve a Power Spiritual, and dominion over mens Consciences.

B. It would be very well (because we are all of us permitted to read the holy Scriptures, and bound to make them the Rule of our actions both publick and private) that Heresie were by some Law defined, and the particular Opinions set forth, for which a man were to be condemned and punished as a Heretick; for else, not onely men of mean capacity, but even the wisest and devoutest  
Christian



Christian may fall into Heresie, without any will to oppose the Church ; for the Scriptures are hard, and the interpretations different of different men.

*A.* The meaning of the word Heresie is by Law declared in Act of Parliament, in the First Year of Queen Elizabeth ; wherein it is ordained, that the Persons who had by the Queens Letters Patents, the Authority Spiritual (meaning the High Commission) shall not have Authority to Adjudge any matter or cause to be Heresie, but only such as heretofore have been Adjudged to be Heresie, by the Authority of the Canonical Scriptures, or by the First 4 General Councils, or by any other General Council, where the same was declared Heresie by the express and plain words of the said Canonical Scriptures or such as hereafter shall be adjudged Heresie, by the High Court of Parliament of this Realm ; with the assent of the Clergy in their Convocation.

*B.* It seems therefore, if there arise any new Error that hath not been yet declared Heresie, (and many such may arise) it cannot be Judged Heresie without a Parliament ; for how foul soever the error be, it cannot have been declared Heresie, neither in the Scriptures nor in the Councils, because it was never before heard of ; and consequently there can be no Error unless it fall within the compass of Blasphemy against God, or Treason against the King) for which a man can in Equity be punished : Besides who can tell what is declared by the Scripture, which every man is allowed to read and interpret to himself ? nay more, what Protestant either of the Laity or Clergy (if every General Council can be a competent Judge of Heresie) is not already condemned ; for divers Councils have declar'd a great many of our Doctrines to be Heresie (as they pretend) upon the Authority of the Scriptures.

*A.* What are those points, that the first four General Councils have declared Heresie ?

*B.* The first General Council held at *Nicaea* declared all to be Heresie, which was contrary to the *Nicene Creed*. Upon occasion of the Heresie of *Arius*, which was the denying the Divinity of Christ, the Second General Council  
be

held at *Constantinople*, declar'd Heresie the Doctrine of *Macedonius*, which was that the Holy Ghost was created. The *Third Council* assembled at *Ephesus*, condemned the Doctrine of *Nestorius*, that there were two persons in Christ. The *Fourth* held at *Calcedon* condemned the Error of *Eutyches*, that there was but one nature in Christ. I know of no other Points condemned in these four Councils, but such as concern Church-Government, or the same Doctrines taught by other Men in other words: And these Councils were all called by the Emperors, and by them their Decrees confirmed, at the Petition of the Councils themselves.

A. I see by this, that both the Calling of the Council, and the confirmation of their Doctrine and Church-Government had no obligatory force, but from the Authority of the Emperor; how comes it then to pass, that they take upon them now a Legislative Power, and say their Canons are Laws? That Text, *all Power is given to me in Heaven and Earth*, had the same force then as it hath now, and conferred a Legislative Power on the Councils not only over Christian men, but over all Nations in the world.

B. They say no; for the Power they pretend to is derived from this, that when a King was converted from *Gentilism* to *Christianity*, he did by that very Submission to the Bishop that converted him, submit to the Bishops Government, and became one of his sheep, which Right therefore he could not have over any Nation, that was not Christian.

A. Did *Silvester* (which was *Pope* of *Rome* in the time of *Constantine* the Great converted by him) tell the Emperor his New Disciple before hand, that if he became a Christian he must become the Popes Subject.

B. I believe not, for it is likely enough, if he had told him so plainly, or but made him suspect it, he would either have been not Christian at all, or, but a Counterfeit one.

A. But if he did not tell him so, and that plainly it was foul play, not only in a Priest, but in any Christian. And for this Derivation of their Right from the Emperors consent,

## Civil Wars of England.

11

it proceeds only from this, that they dare not challenge a Legislative power, nor call their Canons, Laws in any Kingdom in Christendom; farther than the Kings make them so: But in *Peru*, when *Atabalipa* was King, the *Fryer* told him, that Christ being King of all the World had given the disposing of all the Kingdoms there to the Pope: And that the Pope had given *Peru* to the *Roman Emperor Charles* the 5. and required *Atabalipa* to resign it, and for refusing it, seized upon his Person by the *Spanish Army* there present, and murdered him: You see by this how much they claim, when they have power to make it good.

B. When began the Popes to take this Authority upon them first?

A. After the Inundation of Northern People had overflowed the Western Parts of the Empire, and possessed themselves of *Italy*, the People of the City of *Rome* submitted themselves, as well in Temporals as Spirituals to their Bishop; and then first was the Pope a Temporal Prince, and stood no more in so great fear of the Emperors, which lived far off at *Constantinople*: In this time it was that the Pope began by pretence of his Power Spiritual, to encroach upon the Temporal Rights of all other Princes of the West, and so continued gaining upon them, till his Power was at the highest, in that 300 years or thereabout, which passed between the time of Pope *Leo* the 3. and Pope *Innocent* the 3. For in this time Pope *Zachary* 1. deposed *Chilperick*, then King of *France*, and gave the Kingdom to one of his Subjects *Pepin*: And *Pepin* took from the *Lombards* a great part of their Territory, and gave it to the Church: Shortly after the *Lombards* having recovered their Estate, *Charles* the Great retook it, and gave it to the Church again, and Pope *Leo* the 3. made *Charles* Emperor.

B. But what Right did the Pope there pretend for the creating of an Emperor?

A. He pretended the Right of being Christs Vicar, and what Christ could give, his Vicar, might give, and you know that Christ was King of all the World.

B. Yes, as God, and so he gives all the Kingdoms of the World, which nevertheless, proceed from the consent of People either for fear, or hope.

A. But

*A.* But this Gift of the Empire was in a more special Manner; in such a manner, as *Moses* had the Government of *Israel* given him, or rather as *Joshua* had it given him, to go in and out before the People, as the *High Priest* should direct him, and so the Empire was understood to be given him on condition to be directed by the Pope: For when the Pope invested him with the Regal Ornaments, the People all cryed out *Deus dat*, that is to say, 'tis God that gives it: And from that time all, or most of the Christian Kings do put into their Titles the words *Dei gratia*, that is, by the gift of God: And their Successors use still to receive the Crown and Scepter from a Bishop:

'Tis certainly a very good Custom for Kings to be put in mind by whose gift they reign, but it cannot from that Custom be infer'd, that they receive the Kingdom, by mediation from the Pope, or by any other Clergy: For the Popes themselves received the Papacy from the Emperor, the first that ever was elected Bishop of *Rome*, after Emperors were Christians, and without the Emperors consent executed himself by Letter to the Emperor; with this, that the People and Clergy of *Rome* forced him to take it upon him, and prayed the Emperor to confirm it, which the Emperor did but with Reprehension of their Proceedings and prohibition of the like for the time to come: the Emperor was *Latharius*, and the Pope *Calixtus* the first.

*A.* You see by this the Emperor never acknowledged this gift of God was the gift of the Pope, but maintained the Popedom was the gift of the Emperor; but in process of time by the negligence of the Emperor (for the greatness of Kings makes them that they cannot easily descend into the obscure and narrow Mines of an ambitious Clergy,) they found means to make the people believe, there was a Power in the Pope and Clergy: which they ought to submit unto, rather than to the Commands of their own King, whensoever it should come into Controversy, and to that end devised and decreed many new Articles of Faith, to the diminution of the Authority of Kings, and to the disjunction of them and their Subjects, and to a closer adherence of their Subjects to the Church

of *Rome's* Articles, either not at all found in, or not well founded upon the Scripture, as first, That it should not be lawful for a Priest to Marry. What influence could that have upon the power of Kings? do you not see that by this, the King must of necessity either want the Priesthood, and therewith a great part of the Reverence due to him from the most Religious part of his Subjects, or else want Lawful Heirs to succeed in? by which means being not taken for the Head of the Church, he was sure in any controversie between him and the Pope, that his Subjects would be against him.

B. Is not a Christian King as much a Bishop now, as the Heathen Kings were of old? for amongst them, *Episcopus* was a name common to all Kings; is not he a Bishop now, to whom God hath committed the charge of all the Souls of his Subjects, both of the Laity and of the Clergy? And though he be in relation to our Saviour, who is the chief Pastour of Sheep, yet compared to his own Subjects, they are all Sheep, both Laick and Clergy, and he the onely Shepherd; and seeing a Christian Bishop is but a Christian endued with power to govern the Clergy; it follows, that every Christian King is not onely a Bishop but an Archbishop, and his whole Kingdom his Diocess: And though it were granted, that Imposition of hands were necessary for a Priest, yet seeing Kings have the power of Government of the Clergy that are the Subjects, even before Baptism, the Baptism it self where he is received as a Christian, is a sufficient Imposition of Hands, so that whereas before he was a Bishop, now he is a Christian Bishop.

A. For my part I agree with you, this prohibition of Marriage to Priests came in about the time of Pope Gregory the Seventh, and William the First, King of England, by which means the Pope had in England, what with Secular, and what with Regular Priests, a great many lusty Batchelors at his service. Secondly, that *Auricular Confession* to a Priest was necessary to Salvation. 'Tis true, that before that time, Confession to a Priest was usual, and performed for the most part (by him that Confessed)

in writing; but that use was taken away about the time of King *Edward* the Third, and Priests commanded to take Confessions from the mouth of the Confitent; and men did generally believe, that without Confession and Absolution before their departure out of the World, they could not be saved, and having Absolution from a Priest, they could not be damned. You understand by this how much every man would stand in awe of the Pope and Clergy, more than they would of the King, and what inconvenience it is for a State to have their Subjects confess their secret thoughts to Spies.

*B.* Yes, as much as eternal torture is more terrible than death, so much they fear the Clergy more than the King.

*A.* And though perhaps the *Roman* Clergy will not maintain, that a Priest hath power to remit sins absolutely, but onely with a condition of repentance; yet the People were never so instructed by them, but were left to believe, that whensoever they had Absolution, their precedent sins were discharged, when their Penance, (which they took for Repentance,) was performed. In the same time began the Article of *Transubstantiation*, for it had been disputed a long time before, in what manner a man did eat the Body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, as being a point very difficult for a man to conceive and imagine clearly, but now it was made very clear, that the Bread was Transubstantiated into Christ's Body, and so was become no more Bread, but Flesh.

*B.* It seems then, that Christ had many Bodies, and was in as many places at once, as there were Communicants, I think the Priests then were so wanton, as to insist upon the dulness, not onely of common People, but also of Kings and their Counsellors.

*A.* I am now in a Narration, not in a Disputation, and therefore I would have you at this time to consider nothing else, but what effect this Doctrine would work upon Kings and their Subjects in relation to the Clergy, who onely were able of a piece of Bread to make our Saviours Body, and thereby at the hour of death to save their Souls.

*B.* For

B. For my part, it would have an effect on me to make me think them Gods, and to stand in awe of them as of God himself, if he were visibly present.

A. Besides these and other Articles, tending to the upholding of the Pope's Authority, they had many fine points in their Ecclesiastical Policy conducing to the same end; of which, I will mention onely such as were established within the same time; for then it was the order of *Preaching Friars*, that waadred up and down with power to Preach in what Congregation they pleased, and were sure enough to instil into the People nothing that might lessen their obedience to the Church of *Rome*, but on the contrary, whatsoever might give advantage to it against the Civil Power; besides, they privately insinuated themselves with Women, and Men of weak judgments, confirming their adherence to the Pope, and urging them in the time of their sickness to be beneficial to it by contribution of money, or building Religious Houses, or works of Piety, and necessary for the remission of their sins.

B. I do not remember that I read of any Kingdom or State in the World, where liberty was given to any private man to call the People together, and make Orations frequently to them, or at all, without first making the State acquainted, except onely in Christendom. I believe the Heathen *K.* foresaw, that a few such Orators would be able to make a great Sedition. *Moses* did indeed command to read the Scriptures, and expound them in the Synagogues every Sabbath-day; but the Scriptures then were nothing else, but the Laws of the Nation delivered unto them by *Moses* himself: I believe it would do no hurt if the Laws of *England* also were often read and expounded in the several Congregations of *Englishmen* at times appointed, that they may know what to do, for they know already what to believe.

A. I think that neither the Preaching of Friars, nor Monks, nor of Parochial Priests, tended to teach men what, but whom, to believe; for the power of the *Mighty* hath no foundation, but in the opinion and belief of the People.

People. And the end which the Pope had in multiplying Sermons, was no other, but to prop and enlarge his own Authority over all Christian Kings and States.

B. Within the same time, that is, between the time of the Emperor *Charles* the Great, and of King *Edward* the Third of *England*, began their second Policy, which was, to bring Religion into an Art, and thereby to maintain all their Degrees of the *Roman* Church by Disputation, not onely from the Scriptures, but also from the Philosophy of *Aristotle*, both Moral and Natural; and to that end the Pope exhorted the said Emperor by Letters, to erect Schools of all kinds of Literature, and from thence began the institution of Universities; for not long after, the Universities began in *Paris*, and in *Oxford*. It is true, that there were Schools in *England* before that time, in several places, for the instruction of Children in the Latin Tongue, that is to say, in the Tongue of the Church; but for an University of Learning there was none erected till that time, though it be not unlikely there might be then some that taught Philosophy, Logick, and other Arts, in divers Monasteries, the Monks having little else to do but to study. After some Colledges were built to that purpose, it was not long before many more were added to them by the Devotion of Princes and Bishops, and other wealthy men, and the Discipline therein was confirmed by the Popes that then were, and abundance of Scholars sent thither by their friends to study, as to a place from whence the way was open and easie to preferment both in Church and Commonwealth. The profit the Church of *Rome* expected from them, and in effect received, was the maintenance of the Pope's Doctrine, and of his Authority over Kings and their Subjects, by School Divines, who striving to make good many points of Faith incomprehensible, and calling in the Philosophy of *Aristotle* to their assistance, wrote great Books of School Divinity, which no man else, nor they themselves, were able to understand, as any man may conceive that shall consider the writing of *Peter Lombard*, or *Scotus*, or of him that wrote Commentaries upon him, or of *Suarez*, or of any other School-

Divines



Divines of later times, which kind of Learning nevertheless hath been much admired by two sorts of men, otherwise prudent enough. The one of which sorts were those that were already Devoted, and really affectionate to the *Roman Church*, for they believed the Doctrine before, but admired the Arguments, because they understood them not, and yet found the Conclusions to their mind; The other sort were negligent men, that had rather admire with others, than take the pains to examine, so that all sorts of people were fully resolved that both the Doctrine was true, and the Pope's Authority no more then what was due to him. I see that a Christian King, or State, how well soever provided he be, of Money and Arms, (where the Church of *Rome* hath such authority) will have but a hard match of it, for want of men; for their Subjects will hardly be drawn into the Field, and fight with courage against their Consciences.

*A.* It is true that great rebellions have been raised by Church-men in the Pope's quarrel against Kings, as in *England* against King *John*, and in *France* against King *Henry* the Fourth, wherein the Kings had a more considerable part on their sides, than the Pope had on his, and shall always have so, if they have Money; for there are but few, whose Consciences are so tender as to refuse Money when they want it, but the great mischief done to Kings upon pretence of Religion, is when the Pope gives power to one King to Invade another.

*B.* I wonder how King *Henry* the Eighth so utterly extinguished the Authority of the Pope in *England*, and that without any Rebellion at home, or any Invasion from abroad?

*A.* First, The Priests, Monks and Friars, being in the height of their Power, were now, for the most part grown insolent and licentious, and thereby the force of their Arguments was now taken away by the scandal of their lives, which the Gentry, and men of good education, easily perceived, and the Parliament consisting of such persons, were therefore willing to take away their Power, and generally the Common people which for a long time had been

been in love with Parliaments, were not displeased therewith. *Secondly*, The Doctrine of *Luther* beginning a little before, was now by a great many men of the greatest Judgments so well received, as that there was no hope to restore the Pope to his Power by Rebellion. *Thirdly*, The Revenue of the *Abbies* and all other *Religious Houses*, falling hereby into the *Kings* hands, and by him being disposed of to the most eminent Gentlemen in every County, could not but make them do their best to confirm themselves in the possession of them. *Fourthly*, King *Henry* was of a nature quick, and severe in the Punishing of such as should be the first to oppose his designs. *Lastly*, As to Invasion from abroad, if the Pope had given the Kingdom to another Prince, it had been in vain, for *England* is another manner of Kingdom than *Navarre*, besides the *French* and *Spanish* Forces were employed at that time one against another; and though they had been at leisure, they would have found perhaps no better success than the *Spaniard* found afterwards in 1588. Nevertheless, notwithstanding the Insolence, Avarice, and Hypocrisy of the then *Clergy*, and notwithstanding the Doctrine of *Luther*, if the Pope had not provoked the King by endeavouring to cross his Marriage with his second Wife, his Authority might have remained in *England* till there had risen some other quarrel.

*B.* Did not the Bishops that then were, and had taken an Oath, wherein was among other things that they should defend and maintain the Regal Rights of *St. Peter*, the words are *Regalia Sancti Petri*, which nevertheless some have said are *Regulas Sancti Petri*, (that is to say) *St. Peter's* Rules or Doctrine, and that the *Clergy* afterwards did read it, (being perhaps written in Short-hand) by a mistake to the Pope's advantage, *Regalia*. Did not (I say) the Bishops oppose that Act of Parliament against the Pope's against the taking of the Oath of Supremacy?

*A.* No, I do not find the Bishops did many of them oppose the King; for having no power without him it had been great imprudence to provoke his Anger; there was besides a Controversy in those times between the Pope and the

the B  
cised  
imme  
the w  
of th  
no m  
the  
Parli  
Doct  
that  
cles  
agai  
Henr  
store  
of K  
and  
to t  
was  
ceas  
men  
of h  
this  
bell  
But  
Lay  
the  
the  
poi  
clis  
the  
Re  
ou  
the  
I r  
co  
m  
m  
An  
di  
K

the Bishops, most of which did maintain, that they exercised their Jurisdiction Episcopal in the Right of God, as immediately as the Pope himself did exercise the same over the whole Church; and because they saw that by this Act of the King in Parliament they were to hold their power no more of the Pope, and never thought of holding it of the King, they were perhaps better content, to let the Act of Parliament pass in the reign of King *Edward* the Sixth, the Doctrine of *Luther* had taken such great root in *England* that they threw out a great many of the Pope's new Articles of Faith, with *Queen Mary* succeeding him, restored again, together with all that had been abolished by King *Henry* the Eighth, saving (that which could not be restored) the Religious Houses, and the Bishops, and Clergy of King *Henry* were partly burnt for Hereticks, partly fled, and partly recanted; and they that fled betook themselves to those places beyond Sea, where the Reformed Religion was either protected, or not prosecuted, who after the decease of *Queen Mary* returned again to favour and preferment under *Queen Elizabeth*, that restored the Religion of her Brother King *Edward*, and so it had continued to this day excepting the interruption made in this late Rebellion of the *Presbyterians* and other *Democratical* men: But thus the *Romish* Religion were now cast out by the Law, yet there were abundance of people, and many of them of the Nobility that still retained the Religion of their Ancestors, who as they were not much molested in points of Conscience, so they were not by their own Inclination very troublesome to the Civil Government, but by the secret practice of *Jesuites* and other Emissaries of the *Roman* Church, they were made less quiet than they ought to have been; and some of them to venture upon the most horrid Act that ever had been heard of before, I mean upon the *Gunpowder Treason*, and upon that account the *Papists* in *England* have been looked upon as men that would not be sorry for any disorders here that might possibly make way to the restoring of the Pope's Authority: and therefore I named them for one of the distempers of the State of *England* in the time of our late King *Charles*.

B. I see that *Monsieur du Plessis* and Dr *Merton* Bishop of *Durham* writing of the progress of the Pope's Power, and intituling their Books, one of them, *The Mystery of Iniquity*, the other, *The Grand Imposture*, were both in the right, for I believe there was never such another cheat in the World: And I wonder that the Kings and States of *Christendom* never perceived it.

A. It is manifest they did perceive it. How else durst they make War against the *Pope*, and some of them take him out of *Rome* it self, and carry him away Prisoner? but if they would have freed themselves from his Tyranny, they should have agreed together and made themselves every one (as *Henry* the Eighth did) Head of the Church within their own respective dominions, but not agreeing they let his power continue, every one hoping to make use of it (when there should be cause against his neighbour.)

B. Now, as to the other Distemper by *Presbyterians*. How came their Power to be so great, being of themselves for the most part but so many poor Scholars?

A. This Controversy between the *Papist* and Reformed Churches could not chuse but make every man, to the best of his power, examine by the Scriptures which of them was in the right, and to that end they were translated into Vulgar Tongue: Whereas before the Translation of them was not allowed, nor any man to read them, but such as had express License so to do, for the *Pope* did concerning the same, that *Moses* did concerning *Mount Sinai*, *Moses* suffered no man to go up to it, to hear God speak or gaze upon him, but such as he himself took with him, and the *Pope* suffered none to speak with God in the Scriptures that had not some part of the *Pope's* Spirit in him, for which he might be trusted.

B. Certainly *Moses* did therein very wisely, and according to God's own Commandment.

A. No doubt of it, and the event it self hath made it since appear so; for after the Bible was Translated into *English*, every Man, nay every Boy and Wench that could read *English*, thought they spoke with God Almighty, and understood what he said, when by a certain Number of

Chapter

*Chapters* a Day they had read the Scriptures once or twice over, the Reverence and Obedience due to the Reformed Church here, and to the Bishops and Pastors therein, was cast off, and every man became a Judge of Religion and an Interpreter of the Scriptures to himself.

B. Did not the Church of *England* intend it should be so: What other end could they have in recommending the *Bible* to me, if they did not mean I should make it the Rule of my Actions, else they might have kept it, though open to themselves, to me Sealed up in *Hebrew*, *Greek* and *Latin*, and fed me out of it, in such measure as had been requisite for the Salvation of my Soul, and the Churches peace.

A. I confess this License of Interpreting the Scripture was the cause of so many several Sects, as have lain hid till the beginning of the late King's Reign, and did then appear to the disturbance of the Commonwealth, but to return to the Story, Those persons that fled for Religion in the time of *Queen Mary*, resided, for the most part, in places where the Reformed Religion was professed and governed by an Assembly of Ministers, who also were not a little made use of (for want of better Statesmen) in points of Civil Government, which pleased so much the *English* and *Scotch* Protestants that lived amongst them, that at their return they wished there were the same Honour and Reverence given to the Ministry in their own Countries, and in *Scotland* (King *James* being then young) soon (with the help of some of the powerful Nobility) they brought it to pass; also they that returned into *England* in the beginning of the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*, endeavoured the same here, but could never effect it till this last Rebellion, nor without the help of the *Scots*, and it was no sooner effected but it was defeated again by the other *Sects*, which by the preaching of the Presbyterians and private Interpretation of Scripture, were grown numerous.

B. I know indeed, that in the beginning of the late War, the Power of the Presbyterians was so very great, that not only the Citizens of *London* were, almost all of them, at their Devotion; but also the greatest part of all other Cities and Market Towns of *England*: But you have  
not

not yet told me by what Art and what Degrees they became so strong.

*A.* It was not their own Art alone that did it, but they had the concurrence of a great many Gentlemen, that did no less desire a Popular Government in the Civil State, than these Ministers did in the Church; and as these did in the Pulpit draw the People to their Opinions, and to a dislike of the Church-Government, Canons, and Common-Prayer-Book, so did the other make them in love with Democracy by their Harangues in the Parliament, and by their discourse and communication with people in the Countrey, continually extolling of Liberty, and inveighing against Tyranny, leaving the people to collect of themselves, that this Tyranny was the present Government of the State. And as the Presbyterians brought with them into their Churches their Divinity from the Universities, so did many of the Gentlemen bring their Politicks from thence into the Parliament, but neither of them did this very boldly in the time of *Q. Eliz.* and though it be not likely that all of them did it out of malice, but many of them out of error, yet certainly the chief Leaders were ambitious Ministers, and ambitious Gentlemen, the Ministers envying the Authority of Bishops, whom they thought less learned; and the Gentlemen envying the Privy-Council, whom they thought less wise than themselves. For 'tis a hard matter for men, who do all think highly of their own Wits (when they have also acquired the Learning of the University) to be perswaded, that they want any ability requisite for the Government of a Commonwealth, especially having read the Glorious Histories, and the Sententious Politicks of the Ancient Popular Government of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, amongst whom Kings were hated, and branded with the name of Tyrants; and Popular Government (though no Tyrant was ever so cruel as a Popular Assembly) passed by the name of Liberty. The Presbyterian Ministers in the beginning of the Reign of *Q. Eliz.* did not (because they durst not) publickly preach against the Discipline of the Church; but not long af-

ter

ter (by the favour perhaps of some great Courtier) they went abroad Preaching in most of the Market Towns of England (as the Preaching Friars had formerly done) upon Working-days in the morning; in which these, and others of the same Tenets, that had charge of Souls, both by the Manner and Matter of their Preaching, applied themselves wholly to the winning of the People to a liking of their Doctrines, and good opinion of their Persons.

And first, for the manner of their Preaching, they so framed their Countenance and Gesture at the entrance into the Pulpit, and their Pronunciation, both in their Prayer and Sermon, and used the Scripture-phrases, whether understood by the People or not, as that no Tragedian in the World could have acted the part of a right godly man better than these did, insomuch that a man unacquainted with such Art, could never suspect any ambitious Plot in them, to raise Sedition against the State, as they then had designed, or doubt, that the vehemence of their Voice (for the same words, with the usual Pronunciation, had been of little force) and forcedness of their Gesture and Looks, could arise from any thing but zeal to the Service of God. And by this Art they came into such credit, that numbers of men used to go forth of their own Parishes and Towns on working-days, leaving their Calling; and on *Sunday* leaving their own Churches to hear them Preach in other places, and to despise their own and all other Preachers that acted not as well as they. And as for those Ministers that did not usually Preach, but instead of Sermons did read to the People such Homilies as the Church had appointed, they esteemed and called them *Dumb Dogs*.

Secondly, for the matter of their Sermons, because the anger of the People in the late *Roman* Usurpation was then fresh, they saw there could be nothing more gracious with them, than to Preach against such other Points of the Romish Religion as the Bishops had not yet condemned, that so receding farther from Popery than they did, they might with glory to themselves, leave a suspicion on the Bishops, as men not well purged from Idolatry.

B

Thirdly,

Thirdly, before their Sermons, their Prayer was, or seemed to be, *ex tempore*, which they pretended to be dictated by the Spirit of God within them, and many of the People believed, or seemed to believe it; or any man might see, that they did not take care before-hand what they should say in their Prayers: and from hence came a dislike of the *Common-Prayer-book*, that men might not see to what they were to say *Amen*.

Fourthly, They did never in their Sermons, or but lightly, against the Lucrative Vices of men of Trade or Handicraft, such as are feigning, lying, couzening, hypocrisy, and other uncharitableness, (except want of charity to their Pastor, and to the Faithful) which was a great ease to the generality of Citizens, and the Inhabitants of Market-Towns, and no little profit to themselves.

Fifthly, By preaching up an opinion, that men were to be assured of their salvation, by the testimony of their own private spirit, meaning the holy Ghost dwelling within them: And from this opinion, the People, that found in themselves a sufficient hatred towards the Papists, and an ability to repeat the Sermons of these men at their coming home, made no doubt, ~~but~~ that they had all that was necessary, how fraudulently and spitefully soever they behaved themselves to their Neighbours, that were not reckoned amongst the Saints, and sometimes to those also.

Sixthly, They did indeed with great earnestness and severity inveigh often against two sins, Carnal Lust, and vain Swearing, which without question was very well done, but the common people were thereby inclined to believe, that nothing else was sin, but that which was forbidden in the Third and Seventh Commandment; for few men do understand by the name of Lust, any other Concupiscence, than that which is forbidden in the Seventh Commandment; for men are not ordinarily said to Lust after another man's Cattle, or other Goods or Possessions, and never made much scruple of the acts of Fraud and Malice, but endeavoured to keep themselves from Uncleanliness onely, or at least from the scandal of it. And whereas they



they did both in their Sermons and Writings maintain and inculcate, that the very first motions of the Mind, that is to say, the delight Men and Women took in the sight of one anothers Form, though they checked the proceeding thereof, so that it never grew up to be a Design, was nevertheless a Sin; they brought Young men into Desperation and to think themselves damn'd because they could not (which no man can, and is contrary to the Constitution of Nature) behold a delightful Object without Delight; and by this means they became Confessors to such as were thus troubled in Conscience, and were obeyed by them, as these Spiritual Doctors in all Cases of Conscience.

B. Yes, divers of them did preach frequently against Oppression.

A. 'Tis true, I had forgot that, but it was before such as were free enough from it, (I mean) the Common People, who would easily believe themselves oppressed, but never Oppressors: And therefore you may reckon this amongst their Artificers, to make their People believe they were oppressed by the King, or perhaps by the Bishops, or both, and inclined the meaner sort to their Party afterward when there should be occasion; but this was but sparingly done in the time of Q. Eliz. whose fear and Jealousie they were afraid of: Nor had they as yet any great power in the Parliament House, whereby to call in question her Prerogative by Petitions of Right, and other Devices as they did afterwards when Democratical Gentlemen had received them into their Council, for the design of changing the Monarchical Government into Popular, which they called Liberty.

B. Who could think that such Horrible Designs as these could so easily and so long remain, covered with the Cloak of Godliness; for that they were most Impious Hypocrites is manifest enough, by the War these proceedings ended in, and by the War committed? But when began first to appear in Parliament the attempt of Popular Government and by whom?

A. As to the time of attempting the change of Government from Monarchical to Democratical, we must distinguish

stinguish: They did not challenge the Sovereignty in plain terms, and by that name, till they had slain the King; nor the Rights thereof, altogether, by particular Heads, till the King was driven from *London* by Tumults raised in the City against him, and retired for the security of his person to *Yerk*, where he had not been many days when they sent unto him Nineteen Propositions, whereof above a Dozen were Demands of several Powers, Essential parts of the Power Sovereign, but before that time they had demanded some of them (in a Petition which they called a *Petition of Right*) which nevertheless the King had granted them in a former Parliament: though he deprived himself thereby, not only of the Power to Levy Money without their consent, but also of his ordinary Revenue by Custom of Tonnage and Poundage, and of the Liberty to put into Custody such men as he thought likely to disturb the Peace, and raise Sedition in the Kingdom: As for the men that did this, 'tis enough to say, they were the Members of the last Parliament, and of some other Parliaments in the beginning of the Reign of King *Charles I.* and the end of the Reign of King *James*: To name them all is not necessary, farther then the Story shall require; most of them were Members of the House of Commons, some few also of the Lords: But all such as had a great Opinion of their sufficiency in Politicks, which they thought was not sufficiently taken notice of by the King.

B. How could the Parliament, when the King had a great Navy, and a great number of Train'd Souldiers, and all the Magazines of Ammunition in his power, be able to begin the War.

A. The King had these things in his Right, but that signifies little, when they had the Custody of the Navy and Magazines, and with them all the Trained Souldiers, and in a manner all the Subjects were by the Preaching of Presbyterian Ministers and the seditious whispering of false and ignorant Politians made his Enemies, and when the King could have no Money but what the Parliament should give him, which you may be sure should not be enough to maintain his Legal Power, which they intended

to take from him. And yet I think they would never have adventured into the Field but for that unlucky business of imposing upon the *Scots* (who were all *Presbyterians*) our *Book of Common Prayer*, for I believe the *English* would never have taken well that the Parliament should make War upon the King upon any provocation, unless it were in their own defence, in case the King should first make War upon them, and therefore it behoved them to provoke the King that he might do something that might look like Hostility: It hapned in the year 1637. that the King by advice (as it is thought) of the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, sent down a *Book of Common Prayer* into *Scotland*, not differing in substance from ours, nor much in words, besides the putting of the word *Presbyter* for that of *Minister*, commanding it to be used (for Conformity to this Kingdom) by the Ministers there, for an ordinary of Divine Service, this being read in the Church at *Edinburgh*, caused such a Tumult there, that he that read it had much ado to escape with his life, and gave occasion to the greatest part of the Nobility, and others, to enter (by their own Authority) into a Covenant amongst themselves to put down Episcopacy without consulting the King; which they presently did, animated thereto by their own Confidence, or by assurance from some of the *Democratical English-men*, that in former Parliaments had been the greatest opposers of the King's Interest, that the King would not be able to raise an Army to chastise them without calling a Parliament, which would be sure to favour them, for the thing which those *Democratics* chiefly then aimed at, was to force the King to call a Parliament, which he had not done often years before, as having found no help, but hindrance, to his designs in the Parliaments he had formerly called. Howsoever contrary to their expectation by the help of his better affected Subjects of the Nobility and Gentry, he made a shift to raise a sufficient Army to have reduced the *Scots* to their former obedience, if it had proceeded to Battle: And with this Army he marched himself into *Scotland*, where the *Scotch* Army was also brought into the Field against him, as if they meant to fight; but then the *Scotch* sent to the

King for leave to treat by Commissioners on both sides, and the King willing to avoid the destruction of his own Subjects, condescended to it, the issue was peace, and the King thereupon ~~went~~ to *Edinburgh* and passed an Act of Parliament there to their Satisfaction

*B.* Did he not then confirm Episcopacy ?

*A.* No, but yielded to the abolishing of it, but by the means the *Engls* were crossed in their hope of a Parliament, but the *Democraticals*, formerly opposers of the King's Interest, ceased not to endeavour still to put the two Nations into a War, to the end the King might buy the Parliaments help at no less a price than Sovereignty it self.

*B.* But what was the Cause that the Gentry and Nobility of *Scotland* were so averse from Episcopacy ? For I can hardly believe that their Consciences were extraordinarily tender, nor that there were so very great Divines as to know what was the true Church Discipline established by our Saviour and his Apostles, nor yet so much in love with their Ministers as to be over-ruled by them in the Government either Ecclesiastical or Civil, for in their lives they were just as other men are, Pursuers of their own Interests and Preferments, wherein they were not more opposed by the Bishops than by their Presbyterian Ministers.

*A.* Truly I do not know, I cannot enter into other mens thoughts farther than I am led by the consideration of Human Nature in general : But upon this consideration I see. *First*, That men of Ancient Wealth and Nobility are not apt so to brook, that poor 8 hollars should (as they must when they are made Bishops) be their Fellows. *Secondly*, That from the emulation of Glory between the Nations, they be willing to see their Nation afflicted with *Civil War*, and might hope by aiding the Rebels here to acquire some Power over the *Engls*; at least so far as to establish here the Presbyterian Discipline, which was also one of the points they afterwards openly demanded. *Lastly*, They might hope for in the War some great sum of Money as a reward of their

assistance, besides great Booty, which they afterwards obtained; but whatsoever was the cause of their hatred to Bishops, the pulling them down was not all they aimed at; if it had (now that Episcopacy was abolished by Act of Parliament) they would have rested satisfied, which they did not; for after the King was returned to *London* the *Engl<sup>ish</sup>* Presbyterians and Democraticals, by whose favour they had put down Bishops in *Scotland*, thought it reason to have the assistance of the *Scotch* for the pulling down the Bishops in *England*; and in order thereunto, they might perhaps deal with the *Scots* secretly to rest unsatisfied with that pacification which they were before contented with; howsoever it was, not long after the King was returned to *London* they sent up to some of their friends at Court a certain Paper containing (as they apprehended) the Articles of the said pacification: a false and scandalous Paper, which was by the King's Command burnt (as I have heard) publickly, and so both parties returned to the same Condition as they were in when the King went down with his Army.

B. And so there was a great deal of Money cast away to no purpose; but you have not told me who was General of that Army.

A. I told you the King was there in person, he that commanded under him was the Earl of *Arundel*; a man that wanted not either Valour or Judgement, but to proceed to Battle, or to Treaty, was not in his power but in the King's.

B. He was a man of a most Noble and Loyal Family, and whose Ancestors had formerly given a great overthrow to the *Scots* in their own Countrey, and in all likelihood he might have given them the like now, if they had fought.

A. He might indged, but it had been but a kind of Superstition to have made him General upon that account, though many Generals heretofore have been chosen for the good luck of their Ancestors in the like occasions. In the long War between *Athens* and *Sparta* a General of the *Athenians* by Sea, won many Victories against the *Spar-*

*ians*, for which cause, after his death, they chose his Son for General, with ill success. The *Romans* that conquered *Carthage*, by the valour and conduct of *Scipio*, when they were to make War again in *Africk* against *Cæsar*, chose another *Scipio*, a man valiant and wise enough; but he perished in the Employment. And to come home to our own Nation, the Earl of *Essex* made a fortunate Expedition to *Cadiz*, but his Son, sent afterwards to the same place, could do nothing. 'Tis a foolish Superstition to hope, that God has entailed Success in War upon a Nation or Family.

B. After the pacification broken, what succeeded next?

A. The King sent Duke *Hamilton* with Commission and Instructions into *Scotland* to call a Parliament there, ( but all was to no purpose ) and to use all the means he could etherwise; but the *Scots* were resolved to raise an Army, and to enter into *England*, to deliver ( as they pretended ) their grievances to his Majesty in a Petition, because the King ( they said ) being in the hands of evil Counsellors, they could not otherwise obtain their right: but the truth is, they were otherwise animated to it by the Democratical and Presbyterian *English*, with a promise of reward, and hope of Plunder. Some have said, that Duke *Hamilton* also did rather encourage them to, than deter them from the Expedition, as hoping, by the disorder of the two Kingdoms, to bring to pass that which he had been formerly accused of, to endeavour to make himself King of *Scotland*: but I take this to have been a very uncharitable Censure, upon so little ground to judge so uncharitably of a man, that afterwards lost his life in seeking to procure the liberty of the King his Master. This resolution of the *Scots* to enter into *England* being known, the King wanting Money to raise an Army against them, was now, as his Enemies here wished, constrained to call a Parliament to meet at *Westminster* the 13. of April, 1640.

B. Me-thinks a Parliament of *England*, if upon any occasion, should furnish the King with Money now in a War against the *Scots*, out of an inveterate disaffection to that

that Nation, that had always taken part with their Enemies the *French*, and which always esteemed the Glory of *England* an abatement of their own.

*A.* 'Tis indeed commonly seen, that Neighbour-Nations envy one anothers Honour, and that the less potent bears the greater malice; but that hinders them not from agreeing in those things which their common ambition leads them to. And therefore the King found for the War but the less help from this Parliament; and most of the Members thereof in their ordinary discourses seemed to wonder, why the King should make a War upon *Scotland*, and in that Parliament sometime called them their Brethren the *Scots*: but instead of taking the King's business, (which was the raising of Money) into their consideration, they fell upon the redressing of Grievances, and especially such way of levying Money, as in the last intermission of Parliament the King had been forced to use, such as were Ship-Money, Knighthood, and such other Vails (as one may call them) of the Regal Office, which Lawyers had found justifiable by the antient Records of the Kingdom: Besides, they fell upon the actions of divers Ministers of State, though done by the Kings own Command and Warrant, insomuch that before they were called, the Money which was necessary for this War (if they had given Money, as they never meant to do) had come too late, It is true, there was mention of a sum of Money to be given the King by way of bargain, for relinquishing his right to Ship-money, and some other of his Prerogatives; but so seldom, and without determining any Sum, that it was in vain for the King to hope for any success; and therefore on the Fifth of *May* following he dissolved them.

*B.* Where then had the King Money to raise and pay his Army?

*A.* He was forced the second time to make use of the Nobility and Gentry, who contributed some more, some less, according to the greatness of their Estates; but amongst them all, they made up a very sufficient Army.

*B.* It seems then, that the same men that crossed his business in the Parliament, now out of Parliament ad-

vanced it all they could ; what was the reason of that ?

*A.* The greatest part of the Lords in Parliament, and the Gentry throughout *England*, were more affected to Monarchy than to a Popular Government ; but so, as not to endure to hear of the King's absolute Power, which made them in time of Parliament easily to condescend to abridge it, and bring the Government to mixt Monarchy, as they called it, wherein the absolute Sovereignty should be divided between the King, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons.

*B.* But how if they cannot agree ?

*A.* I think they never thought of that ; but I am sure they never meant the Sovereignty should be wholly either in one or both Houses ; besides, they were loth to desert the King when he was invaded by Foreigners, for the *Scots* were esteemed by them as a Foreign Nation.

*B.* It is strange to me, that *England* and *Scotland* being but one Island, and their Language almost the same, and being governed by one King, should be thought Foreigners to one another : The *Romans* were Masters of many Nations, and to oblige them the more to obey the Edicts of the Law sent unto them by the City of *Rome*, they thought fit to make them all *Romans* ; and out of divers Nations, as *Spain*, *Germany*, *Italy*, and *France*, to advance some, that they thought worthy, even to be Senators of *Rome*, and to give every one of the common People the privilege of the City of *Rome*, by which they were protected from the contumelies of other Nations where they resided : Why were not the *Scotch* and *English* in like manner united into one People ?

*A.* King *James*, at his first coming to the Crown of *England*, did endeavour it, but could not prevail : But for all that, I believe the *Scotch* have now as many privileges in *England* as any Nation had in *Rome*, of those which were so (as you say) made *Romans*, for they are all Naturalized, and have right to buy Land in *England* to them and their Heirs.

*B.* 'Tis true of them that were born in *Scotland* after the time that King *James* was in possession of the Kingdom of *England*.

*A.* There



*A.* There be very few now that were born before. But why have they a better right that were born after than they that were born before?

*B.* Because they were born Subjects to the King of *England*, and the rest not.

*A.* Were not the rest born Subjects to King *James*? and was not he King of *England*?

*B.* Yes, but not then.

*A.* I understand not the subtilty of the distinction; but upon what Law is that distinction grounded? is there any Statute to that purpose?

*B.* I cannot tell, I think nor, but it is grounded upon Equity.

*A.* I see little equity in this, that those Nations that are bound to equal obedience to the same King, should not have equal Priviledges: and now seeing there be so very few born before King *James*'s coming in, what greater priviledges had those ingrafted *Romans*, by their Naturalization in the State of *Rome*, or in the State of *England*, the *English* themselves more than the *Scotch*?

*B.* Those *Romans*, when any of them were in *Rome*, had their voice in the making of Laws.

*A.* And the *Scotch* have their Parliaments, wherein the assent is required to the Law there made, which is as good. Have not many of the Provinces of *France* their several Parliaments, and several Constitutions? yet they are all equally Natural Subjects to the King of *France*. And therefore for my part, I think they were mistaken, both *English* and *Scotch*, in calling one another Foreigners. Howsoever that be, the King had a very sufficient Army, wherewith he marched towards *Scotland*, and by that time he was come to *York*, the *Scotts* Army was drawn up to the Frontiers, and ready to march into *England*, (which also they presently did) going out all the way, that their march should be without damage to the Countrey, and that their Errand was onely to deliver a Petition to the King for the redress of many pretended Injuries they had received from such of the Court, whose counsel the King most followed: so they passed through *Northumberland*

*land* quietly till they came to a Ford in the River of *Tine*, a little above *Newcastle*, where they found some little opposition from a party of the King's Army sent thither to stop them, whom the *Scots* easily mastered; and as soon as they were over, seized on *Newcastle*, and coming farther on, upon the City of *Durresme*, and sent to the King to desire a Treaty, which was granted, and the Commissioners on both sides met at *Rippon*, the conclusion was that all should be referred to the Parliament which the King should call to meet at *Westminster* the third of *November* following in the same year 1640. And thereupon the King returned to *London*.

B. So the Armies were disbanded.

A. No, The *Scotch* Army was to be defrayed by the Counties of *Northumberland* and *Durresme*, and the King was to pay his own till the disbanding of both should be agreed upon in Parliament.

B. So in effect both the Armies were maintained at the King's Charge, and the whole Controversie to be decided by a Parliament, almost wholly Presbyterian, and as Partial to the *Scotch* as themselves could have wished,

A. And yet for all this they durst not presently make War upon the King; there was so much yet left of Reverence to him in the Hearts of People as to have made them odious if they had declared what they intended, they must have some colour or other to make it be believed, that the King made War first upon the Parliament. And besides they had not yet sufficiently disgraced him in Sermons and Pamphlets, nor removed from about him those they thought could best counsel him, therefore they resolved to proceed with him like skilful hunters, First to single him out by men disposed in all parts to drive him into the open field, and then in case he should not seem to turn head to call that making a War against the Parliament. And first, They called in question such as had either Preached, or written, in defence of those Rights which belonging to the Crown they meant to usurp, and take from the King to themselves, whereupon some few Writers and Preachers were Imprisoned, or forced to fly: The King not protesting

recting these, they proceeded to call in question some of the King's own Actions in his Ministers, whereof they Imprison'd some, and some went beyond Sea, and whereas certain persons having endeavour'd by Books and Sermons to raise Sedition, and committed other Crimes of high Nature, had therefore been censured by the Kings Council in the *Star-Chamber*, and Imprisoned; the Parliament by their own Authority, to try (it seems) how the King and the people would take it (for their Persons were inconsiderable) ordered their setting at Liberty, which was accordingly done, with great Applause of the People that flocked about them in *London* in manner of a Triumph. This being done without resistance, the Kings Right to Ship-money.

B. Ship-money: what's that?

A. The Kings of *England* for the defence of the Sea had power to Tax all the Counties of *England* whether they were Maritime or not, for the Building and Furnishing of Ships, which Tax the King had then lately found cause to impose, and the Parliament exclaimed against it as an oppression: And one of their Members that had been Taxed but 20 Shillings, (mark the Oppression, a Parliament-man of 500 *l.* a Year Land Taxed at 20 Shillings) they were forced to bring it to a Tryal at Law, he refusing payment, and he was cast again: When all the Judges of *Westminster* were demanded their Opinions concerning the legality of it; of Twelve, that there are, it was judged Legal by Ten; for which, though they were not punished, yet they were affrighted by the Parliament.

B. What did the Parliament mean when they did exclaim against it as illegal? Did they mean it was against *Statute Law*, or against the Judgments of Lawyers given heretofore, which are commonly called *Reports*? or did they mean it was against Equity, which I take to be the same with the Law of Nature?

A. It is a hard matter, or rather impossible to know what other men mean, especially, if they be crafty, but sure I am Equity was not their ground for their pretence

of

of Immunity from Contributing to the King. but at their own pleasure, for when they have laid the Burthen of defending the whole Kingdom and governing it upon any person whatsoever; there is little Equity he should depend on others for the means of performing it, or if he do, they are his Sovereign, not he theirs, and as for the Common Law, contained in *Reports*, they have no force but what the King gives them, besides it were unreasonable that a corrupt or foolish Judge's unjust Sentence should by any time, how long soever, obtain the authority and force of a Law, but among the *Statute Laws* there is one called *Magna Charta*, or *The great Charter of the Liberties of English men*, in which there is one Article that no man shall be distrained, that is, have his Goods taken from him otherwise than by the Law of the Land.

B. Is not that a sufficient ground for their purpose?

A. No, that leaves us in the same doubt which you think it clears; for where was the Law of the Land then? Did they mean a another *Magna Charta* that was made by some King more ancient yet? No, that Statute was made not to exempt any man from payments to the publick, but for securing of every man from such as abused the King's Power by surreptitious obtaining of the King's Warrants, to the oppressing of those against whom he had any Suite in Law: But it was conducing to the end of some rebellious Spirits in this Parliament, to have it interpreted in the wrong sense, and suitable enough to the understanding of the rest, or most part of them to let it pass.

B. You make the Members of that Parliament very simple men, and yet the people chose them for the wisest of the Land.

A. If Craft be Wisdom they were wise enough, but wise as I define it, is he that knows how to bring his business to pass without the assistance of Knavery and ignoble shifts, by the sole strength of his good contrivance. A Fool may win from a better Gambler by the advantage of false Dice, and Packing of Cards.

B. According to your definition there be few wise men

now

now adays, such Wisdom is a kind of Gallantry that few are brought up to; and most think Folly, fine Cloaths, great Feathers, Civility towards men that will not swallow Injuries, and injury towards them that will, is the present Gallantry; but when the Parliament afterwards having gotten the power into their hands levied Money to their own use, what said the People to that?

*A.* What else, but that it was legal, and to be paid as being Imposed by consent of Parliament.

*B.* I have heard often that they ought to pay what was imposed by consent of Parliament to the use of the King, but to their own use, never before; I see by this it is easier to gull the multitude than any one man amongst them, for what one man that has his Natural Judgment depraved by accident, could be so easily cousted in a matter that concerns his Purse, had he not been passionately carried away by the rest to change of Government, or rather to a liberty of every one to govern himself.

*A.* Judge then what kind of men such a multitude of Ignorant People were like to elect for the Burgesses, and Knights of Shires.

*B.* I can make no other Judgment, but that they who were then elected, were just such as had been elected for former Parliaments, and as are like to be elected for Parliaments to come, for the Common people have been, and and always will be ignorant of their duty to the Publick, as never meditating any thing, but their particular Interest, in other things following their immediate Leaders, which are either the Preachers, or the most potent of the Gentlemen that dwell amongst them, as Common Soldiers for the most part follow their Captains, if they like them: If you think the late miseries have made them wiser, that will quickly be forgot, and then we shall be no wiser then we were?

*A.* Why may not men be taught their Duty? that is, the Science of Just and Unjust, as divers other Sciences have been taught, from true Principles and Demonstrations? and much more easily than any of those *Preachers* and *Democratical Gent.* could *Rebellion* and *Treason*.

*B.* But

*B.* But who can teach what none have learned? or if any man hath been so singular, as to have studied the Science of Justice and Equity, how can he teach it safely, when it is against the interest of those that are in possession of the power to hurt him?

*A.* The Rules of the Just and Unjust sufficiently demonstrated, and from Principles evident to the meanest capacity have not been wanting; and notwithstanding the obscurity of their Author, have shined not onely in this, but in Foreign Countries, to men of good Education; but they are few in respect of the rest of men, whereof many cannot read; many, though they can have no leisure, and of them that have leisure, the greatest part have their minds wholly employed and taken up by their private businesses or pleasures: so that it is impossible that the multitude should ever learn their Duty but from the Pulpit, and upon Holy-days; but then, and from thence it is, that they learned their Disobedience; and therefore the light of that Doctrine has been hitherto covered and kept under, hereby a cloud of adversaries, which no man's private reputation can break through, without the Authority of the Universities; but from the Universities came all those Preachers that taught the contrary. The Universities have been to this Nation, as the Wooden-horse was to the *Trojans*.

*B.* Can you tell me why, and when, the Universities here first began?

*A.* It seems, for the time, they began in the Reign of the Emperor *Charles* the Great, before which time, I doubt not, but there were many Grammar-Schools for the Latin Tongue, which was the Natural Language of the *Roman* Church; but for Universities, that is to say, Schools for the Science in general, and especially for Divinity, it is manifest, that the institution of them was recommended by the Pope's Letter to the Emperor *Charles* the Great, and recommended farther by a Council held in his time, I think at *Chal. sur. Saone*; and not long after was erected an University at *Paris*, and the University called *University Colledge* at *Oxford*; and so by degrees several

veral Bishops, Noblemen, and rich men, and some Kings and Queens contributing thereunto, the Universities at last obtained their present splendor.

B. But what was the Pope's design in it?

A. What other design was he like to have, but what you heard before? the advancement of his own Authority in the Countreys where the Universities were erected; there they learned to dispute for him, and with unintelligible distinctions to blind mens eyes, whilst they encroached upon the Rights of Kings; and it was an evident argument of that design, that they fell in hand with the work so quickly: For the first Rector of the University of Paris, as I have read some-where, was *Peter Lombard*, who first brought in to them the Learning called *School-Divinity*, and was seconded by *John Scot of Duns*, who lived in or near the same time, whom any ingenious Reader, not knowing what was the design, would judge to have been the most egregious Blockhead in the world; so obscure and senseless are their Writings: And from these, the School-men that succeeded learnt the trick of imposing what they list upon their Readers, and declining the force of true Reason by verbal Forks, I mean distinctions that signifie nothing, but serve onely to astonish the multitude of ignorant men; as for the understanding Readers, they were so few, that these new sublime Doctors cared not what they thought, these School-men were to make good all the Articles of Faith which the Pope from time to time should command to be believed; amongst which, there were very many inconsistent with the Rights of Kings, and other Civil Sovereigns, as asserting to the Pope all Authority whatsoever, they should declare to be necessary *in ordine ad Spiritualia*, (that is to say) in order to Religion.

From the Universities also it was that Preachers proceeded, and were poured out into City and Countrey, to terrifie people into obedience to the Popes Canons and Commands, which for fear of wakening Kings and Princes too much, they durst not yet call them Laws.

From the Universities it was, that the Philosophy of  
*Aristotle*

*Aristotle* was made an ingredient to Religion, as serving for a Salve to a great many absurd Articles concerning the nature of Christ's Body, and the state of Angels and Saints in Heaven: which Articles they thought fit to have believed, because they bring some of them profit, and others reverence to the Clergy, even to the meanest of them; for when they shall have made the People believe, that the meanest of them can make the Body of Christ, who is there that will not both shew them reverence, and be liberal to them or to the Church, especially in the time of their sickness, when they think they make and bring to them their Saviour?

B. But what advantage to them in these Impostures was the Doctrine of *Aristotle*?

A. They have made more use of his Obscurity than his Doctrine; for none of the ancient Philosophers Writings are comparable to those of *Aristotle*, for their aptness to puzzle and intangle men with words, and to breed disputation, which must at last be ended in the determination of the Church of Rome. And in the Doctrine of *Aristotle* they made use of many points; as first, the Doctrine of separated Essences.

B. What are separated Essences?

A. Separated Beings.

B. Separated from what?

A. From every thing that is.

B. I cannot understand the Being of any thing, which I understand not to be; but what can they make of that?

A. Very much in questions concerning the nature of God, and concerning the state of man's Soul after death in Heaven, Hell, and Purgatory; by which you and every man knows how great obedience, and how much Money they gain from the common People: Whereas *Aristotle* holdeth the Soul of Man to be the first giver of Motion to the Body, and consequently to it self: They make use of that in the Doctrine of Free-will, what and how they gain by that, I will not say.

He holdeth forth, that there be many things that come to pass in this World from no necessity of Causes, but meer Contingency, Casualty, and Fortune?

B. Me-



B. Me-thinks in this they make God stand idle, and to be a meer spectator in the Games of Fortune; for, what God is the cause of, must needs come to pass; and, in my opinion, nothing else. But because there must be some ground for Justice of the eternal Torment of the Damned, perhaps it is this, That mens Wills and Propensions are not ( they think ) in the hands of God, but of themselves. And in this also I see something conducing to the Authority of the Church.

A. This is not much, nor was *Aristotle* of such credit with them, but that when his opinion was against theirs, they could slight him; whatsoever he says is impossible in Nature, they can prove well enough to be possible from the Almighty power of God, who can make Bodies to be in one and the self-same place, and one Body to be in many places at the same time, if the Doctrine of Transubstantiation require it, though *Aristotle* deny it. I like not the design of drawing Religion into an Art, whereas it ought to be a Law. And though not the same in all Countreys, yet in every Countrey indisputable; nor that they teach it as Arts ought to be taught, by shewing first the meaning of their Terms, and then deriving from them the Truth they would have us believe, nor that their Terms are for the most part untelligible, though to make it seem rather want of Learning in the Reader, than want of fair dealing in themselves; they are for the most part *Latin* and *Greek* words, wried a little the point towards the Native Language of the several Countries where they are used. But that which is most intollerable is, That all Clerks are forced to make as if they believe them, if they mean to have any Church-Preferment, the Keys whereof are in the Popes hands; and the common People, whatsoever they believe of those false Doctrines, are never esteemed better Sons of the Church for their Learning. There is but one way there to Salvation, that is, extraordinary Devotion and Liberality to the Church, and readiness for the Churches sake, if it be required, to fight against their Natural and Lawful Sovereigns.

B. I see what use they make of *Aristotles Logick, Physick and Metaphysicks*: But I see not yet how his *Politicks* can serve their turn.

A. Nor I, It has (I think) done them no good, though it has done us here much hurt by accident; for men grown weary at last of the Insolence of the Priests, and examining the Truths of those Doctrines that were put upon them, began to search the sense of the Scriptures as they are in the Learned Languages; and consequently Studying *Greek and Latin*, became acquainted with the Democratical Principles of *Aristotle and Cicero*, and from the Love of their Eloquence, fell in Love with the *Politicks*, and more and more, till it grew into the Rebellion we now talk of, without any other advantage to the *Roman Church*, but that it was awakening to us, whom since we broke out of their Net in the time of *Henry 8.* they have continually endeavoured to recover.

B. What have they gotten by teaching of *Aristotles Ethicks*?

A. It is some advantage to them, that neither the *Morals of Aristotle*, nor of any other, have done them any harm, nor us any good. Their Doctrine have caused a great deal of Dispute concerning Vertue and Vice, but no knowledge of what they are, nor any method of attaining Vertue, nor of avoiding Vice.

The end of Moral Philosophy, is to teach men of all sorts their Duty, both to the publick, and to one another. The Estimate Vertue, partly by a Mediocrity of the Passions of Men, and partly by that, that they are praised; whereas it is not the much or little praise that makes an Action Virtuous, but the Cause; nor much or little blame that makes an Action Vicious, but its being unconformable to the Laws, in such men as are subject to the Law; or its being unconformable to Equity or Charity in all men whatsoever.

B. It seems you make a difference between the *Ethicks of Subjects*, and the *Ethicks of Sovereigns*.

A. So I do: The Vertue of a *Subject* is comprehended wholly in obedience to the Laws of the Commonwealth.

To obey the Laws is Justice and Equity, which is the Law of Nature, and consequently is Civil Law in all Nations of the World; and nothing is Injustice or Iniquity, otherwise then it is against the Law: Likewise to obey the Law is the Prudence of a *Subject*; for without such obedience the Commonwealth (which is every Subjects safety and protection) cannot subsist. And though it be Prudence also in private men, justly and moderately to enrich themselves; yet craftily to withhold from the Publick, or defraud it of such part of the Wealth as is by Law required, is no sign of Prudence, but of want of knowledge of what is necessary for their own defence.

The Vertues of Sovereigns are such as tend to the maintenance of Peace at Home, and to the resistance of Foreign Enemies. Fortitude is a Royal Vertue, and though it be necessary in such private men as shall be Soldiers; yet for other men the less they dare the better it is, both for the Commonwealth, and for themselves. Frugality (though perhaps you would think it strange) is also a Royal Vertue, for it increases the publick stock, which cannot be too great for the Publick Use, nor any man too sparing of what he has in trust for the good of others. Liberality also is a Royal Vertue, for the Commonwealth cannot be well serv'd without Extraordinary Diligence and Service of Ministers, and great Fidelity to their Sovereign, who ought therefore to be encouraged, and especially those that do him service in the Wars. In summ, all Actions or Habits are to be esteemed Good or Evil, by their Causes and Usefulness in reference to the Commonwealth, and not by their *Mediocrity*, nor by their being commended; for several men praise several Customes, and that which is Vertue with one, is blam'd by others; and contrarily, what one calls Vice, an other calls Vertue as their present Affections lead them.

B. Methinks you should have placed amongst the Vertues, that which in my Opinion is the greatest of all Vertues, Religion.

A. So I have, though it seems you did not observe it: But whether do we Digress from the way we were in?

*B.* I think you have not Digressed at all; for I suppose your purpose was to acquaint me with the History, not so much of those Actions that past in the time of the late Troubles, as of their Causes, and of the Counsels, and Artifices by which they were brought to pass. There be divers men that have written the History, out of whom I might have Learned what they did, and somewhat also of the Contrivance: But I find little in them of it. I would ask therefore, since you were pleased to enter into this Discourse at my request; be pleased also to inform me after my own method. And for the danger of Confusion that may arise from that, I will take care to bring you back to the place from whence I drew you; for I well remember where it was.

*A.* Well then, to your Question concerning Religion, inasmuch as I told you, that Vertue is comprehended in Obedience to the Laws of the Commonwealth, whereof Religion is one, I have placed Religion amongst the Vertues.

*B.* Is Religion then the Law of a Commonwealth?

*A.* There is no Nation in the World, whose Religion is not Established, and receives not its Authority from the Laws of that Nation. It is true that the Law of God receives no obedience from the Laws of Men: But because men can never by their own Wisdom come to the knowledge of what God hath spoken and Commanded to be Observed, nor be obliged to obey the Laws, whose Author they know not; they are to acquiesce in some humane Authority or other: So that the Question will be, Whether a man ought in matter of Religion (that is to say) when there is question of his Duty to God and the King, to rely upon the Preaching of their Fellow-Subjects, or of a Stranger, or upon the voice of the Law?

*B.* There is no great difficulty in that point, for there is none that Preach here, or any where else, at least ought to Preach, but such as have Authority so to do, from him or them that have the Sovereign Power: So that if the King give us leave, you or I may as lawfully Preach as them that do, and I believe we should perform that Office a great deal better than they, that preached us into Rebellion.

*A.* The

A. The Church Morals are in many points very different from these that I have here set down for the Doctrine of Vertue and Vice, and yet without any conformity with that of *Aristotle*: for in the Church of *Rome* the principle Vertues are to obey their Doctrine, though it be Treason, and that is to be Religious; to be beneficial to the Clergy, that is their Piety and Liberality; and to believe upon their word, that which a man knows in his Conscience to be false, which is the Faith that they require: I could name a great many more such points of their Morals, but that I know you know them already, being so well versed in the cases of Conscience written by their School-men, who measure the goodness and wickedness of all Actions by their Congruity with the Doctrine of the *Roman* Clergy.

B. But what is the *Moral Philosophy* of the *Protestant* Clergy in *England*?

A. So much as they shew of it in their Life and Conversation, is for the most part very good, and of very good example, much better than their Writings.

B. It happens many times that men live honestly for fear, who if they had Power would live according to their own Opinions; that is, if their Opinions be not right, Unrighteously.

A. Do the Clergy in *England* pretend as the Pope does, or as the *Presbyterians* do, to have a right from God immediately to govern the King and his Subjects in all points of Religion and Manners? If they do, you cannot doubt but that if they had Number and Strength (which they are never like to have) they would attempt to attain that Power, as the others have done.

B. I would be glad to see a *System* of the present Morals written by some Divine of good Reputation and Learning, and of the late King's party.

A. I think I can recommend unto you the best that is extant, and such an one as (except a few passages that I mislike) is very well worth your reading; the Title of it is, *The whole Duty of Man, laid down in a plain and familiar way*. And yet I dare say, that if the *Presbyterian* Ministers even those of them that were the most diligent Preachers

Preachers of the late Sedit on, were to be tried by it, they would go near to be found Not Guilty. He has divided the Duty of Man into three great Branches, *His Duty to God, to Himself, and to his Neighbour.* In his Duty to God he puts the acknowledgment of him in his Essence, and his Attributes, and in believing of his Word; his Attributes are, Omnipotence, Omniscience, Infiniteness, Justice, Truth, Mercy, and all the rest that are found in Scripture. Which of these did not those Seditious Preachers acknowledge equally with the best of Christians? The Word of God are the Books of holy Scripture, received for Canonical in *England.*

*B.* They receive the Word of God, but 'tis according to their own interpretation.

*A.* According to whose interpretation was it received by the Bishops and the rest of the Loyal Party, but their own? He puts for another Duty Obedience and Submission to God's Will. Did any of them, nay, did any man living, do any thing, at any time, against God's Will?

*B.* By God's Will I suppose he means there his revealed Will, ( that is to say ) his Commandments, which I am sure they did most horribly break, both by their Preaching and otherwise.

*A.* As for their Actions, there is no doubt but all men are guilty enough ( if God deal severely with them ) to be damned: and for their Preaching, they will say, they thought it agreeable to God's revealed Will in the Scriptures; if they thought it so, it was not disobedience but error, and how can any man prove they thought otherwise?

*B.* Hypocrisie hath this great prerogative above other sins, that it cannot be accused.

*A.* Another Duty he sets down is to honour him in his House, that is, the Church, in his Possessions, in his Day, in his Word and Sacraments.

*B.* They perform this Duty ( I think ) as well as any other Ministers, I mean, the Loyal Party; and the Presbyterians have always had an equal care to have God's House free from prophanation, to have Tithes duly paid,

to have the Sabbath day kept holy, the Word preached, and the Lord's Supper and Baptism duly administered. But it is not the keeping of the Feasts and of the Fasts, one of those Duties that belong to the Honour of God, if it be, the Presbyterians fail in that.

*A.* Why so? they kept some Holidays, and they had Feasts among themselves, though not upon the same Days that the Church ordains, but when they thought fit: as when it pleased God to give the King any notable Victory, and they govern'd themselves in this point by the holy Scriptures, as they pretend to be, and can prove they did not believe so.

*B.* Let us pass over all other Duties, and come to that Duty which we owe to the King, and consider whether the Doctrine taught by these Divines, which adhered to the King, be such, in that point, as may justify the Presbyterians that incited the People to Rebellion; for that's the thing you call in question.

*A.* Concerning our Duty to our Rulers, he hath these words, An obedience we must pay either Active or Passive; the Active, in the case of all Lawful Commands, that is, when ever the Magistrate commands something which is not contrary to some command of God, we are then bound to act according to that command of the Magistrate, to do the thing he requires; but when he enjoins any thing contrary to what God hath commanded, we are not then to pay him this Active obedience, we may, nay, we must refuse thus to act; (yet here we must be very well assur'd, that the thing is so contrary, and not pretend Conscience for a cloak of stubbornness) we are in that case to obey God rather than men. But even this is a season for the Passive obedience, we must patiently suffer what he inflicts on us for such refusal, and not, to secure our selves, rise up against him.

*B.* What is there in this to give colour to the late Rebellion?

*C*

*A.* They

*A.* They will say, they did it in obedience to God, inasmuch as they did believe it was according to the Scripture, out of which they will bring perhaps examples of *David* and his Adherents, that resisted King *Saul*, and of the Prophets afterwards, that vehemently from time to time preached against the Idolatrous Kings of *Israel* and *Judah*: *Saul* was their Lawful King, and yet they paid him neither Active nor Passive obedience, for they did put themselves into a posture of defence against him, though *David* himself spared his person, and so did the Presbyterians put into their Commission to their General, that they should spare the King's Person. Besides, you cannot doubt, but that they who in the Pulpit did animate the People to take Arms in defence of the then Parliament, alledged Scripture, that is the Word of God for it. If it be lawful then for Subjects to resist the King when he commands any thing against the Scripture, that is contrary to the command of God, and to be Judge of the meaning of the Scripture, it is impossible that the life of any King, or the peace of any Christian Kingdom can be long secure. It is this Doctrine that Divides a Kingdom within it self, whatsoever the men be (Loyal or Rebels) that Write or Preach it publicly. And thus you see, that if those seditious Ministers be tried by this Doctrine, they will come off well enough.

*B.* I see it, and wonder at People, that having never spoken with God Almighty, nor knowing one more than another, what he hath said, when the Laws and the Preacher disagree, should so keenly follow the Minister, for the most part an ignorant, though a ready tongu'd Scholar, rather than the Laws that were made by the King, with the consent of the Peers and the Commons of the Land.

*A.* Let us examine his words a little nearer; first, concerning Passive obedience. When a Thief hath broken the Laws, and, according to the Law, is therefore executed, can any man understand, that this suffering of his is an obedience to the Law? Every Law is a Command to do  
or



or to forbear; neither of these is fulfilled by suffering. If any suffering can be called obedience, it must be such as is voluntary; for no voluntary action can be counted a submission to the Law. He that means that his suffering should be taken for obedience, must not only not resist, but also flie, nor hide himself to avoid his punishment. And who is there among them that discourses of Passive obedience, when his life is in extreme danger, that will voluntarily present himself to the Officers of Justice? Do not we see that all men when they are led to Execution, are both bound and guarded, and would break loose, if they could, and get away? such is their Passive obedience. Christ saith, *The Scribes and Pharisees sate in Moses's chair; all therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do, Matth. 23. 3.* which is a doing an an Active obedience; and yet the Scribes and Pharisees appear not by the Scriptures to have been such godly men, as never to command any thing against the revealed will of God.

**B.** Must Tyrants also be obeyed in every thing actively, or is there nothing wherein a Lawful Kings commands may be disobeyed; what if he should command me with my own hands to execute my Father, in case he should be condemned to die by the Law?

**A.** This is a case that need not be put, we never have read or heard of any King or Tyrant so inhumane as to command it; if any did, we are to consider, whether that command were one of his Laws; for by disobeying Kings, we mean disobeying his Laws, those his Laws that were made before they were applied to any particular person: For the King, though as a Father of Children, and a Master of domestick Secrets, yet commands the People in general never but by a precedent Law, and as a Publick, not a Natural Person; and if such a Command as you speak of were contrived into a general Law, (which never was, nor never will be) you were bound to obey it, unless you depart

the Kingdom after the publication of the Law, and before the condemnation of your Father.

*B.* Your Author says farther, in refusing a live obedience to the King, that commanded any thing contrary to God's Law, we must be very well assured that the thing is so contrary; I would fain know how is it possible to be assured?

*A.* I think you do not believe, that any of those Refusers do immediately, from God's own mouth, receive any Command contrary to the Command of the King, who is God's Lieutenant, nor any other way than you and I do; that is to say, than by the Scriptures: And because men do for the most part rather draw the Scriptures to their own sense, than follow the true sense of the Scripture, there is no other way to know certainly, and in all cases, what God commands or forbids us to do, but by the sentence of him or them, that are constituted by the King to determine the sense of the Scriptures, upon hearing of the particular Case of Conscience which is in question; and they that are so constituted, are easily known in all Christian Common-wealths, whether they be Bishops, or Ministers, or Assemblies that govern the Church under him or them that have the Sovereign Power.

*B.* Some doubts may be raised from this that you now say; for if men be to learn their Duty from the Sentence which other men shall give concerning the meaning of the Scriptures, and not from their own Interpretation, I understand not to what end they were Translated into *English*, and every man not onely permitted, but also exhorted to read them; for what could that produce but diversity of Opinion, and consequently (as man's nature is) Disputation, breach of Charity, Disobedience, and at last Rebellion? Again, since the Scriptures were allowed to be read in *English*, why were not the Translations such, as might make all that's read understood, even by mean capacities?

pacities? Did not the *Jews*, such as could read, understand their Law in the *Jewish* Language, as well as we do our Statute Laws in *English*? And as for such places of the Scripture as had nothing of the Nature of a Law, it was nothing to the Duty of the *Jews* whether they were understood or not, seeing nothing is punishable but the transgression of some Law. The same question I may ask concerning the New Testament; for I believe that those men, to whom the Original Language was natural, did understand sufficiently what Commands and Counsels were given them by our Saviour and his Apostles, and his immediate Disciples. Again, how will you answer that question which was put by St. *Peter* and St. *John*, *Acts* 4. 19. when by *Ananias* the High-priest, and others of the Council of *Jerusalem*, they were forbidden any more to teach in the Name of Jesus, *Whether is it right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God?*

A. The case is not the same, *Peter* and *John* had seen and daily conversed with our Saviour, and by the Miracles he wrought did know he was God, and consequently knew certainly, that their disobedience to the High Priest's present command was just. Can any Minister now say, that he hath immediately from God's own mouth received a Command to disobey the King, or know otherwise than by the Scripture, that any Command of the King, that hath the form and nature of a Law, is against the Law of God, which in divers places he directly and evidently commandeth to obey him in all things. The Text you cite doth not tell us, that a Minister's Authority, rather than a Christian King's, shall decide the questions that arise from the different Interpretations of the Scripture. And therefore where the King is Head of the Church, and by consequence (to omit, that the Scripture it self was not received but by the Authority of Kings and States) chief Judge of the Rectitude of all Interpretations of the Scripture, to obey the King's Laws and publick Edicts, is not to disobey, and obey God: A Minister ought not to think, that his skill in the *Latin*, *Greek*, or *Hebrew* Tongues, if  
he

he have any, gives him a privilege to impose upon all his fellow-subjects his own sense, or what he pretends to be his sense of every obscure place of Scripture; nor ought he, as often as he hath found some fine Interpretation not before thought on by others, to think he had it by Inspiration, as fine as he thinks it, is not false; and then all his stubbornness and contumacy towards the King and his Laws is nothing but pride of heart and ambition, or else imposture. And whereas you think it needless, or perhaps hurtful, to have the Scriptures in English, I am of another mind; There are so many places of Scripture easily to be understood, that teach both true Faith and good Morality, and that as fully as it is necessary to Salvation, of which no Seducer is able to dispose the mind of any ordinary Readers, that the reading of them is so profitable, as not to be forbidden, without great damage to them and the Common-wealth.

B. All that is required both in Faith and Manners for Man's Salvation, is, I confess, set down in Scripture as plainly as can be: *Children, obey your parents in all things. Servants, obey your masters in all things. Let all men be subject to the higher powers, whether it be the King, or those that are sent by him. Love God with all your soul, and your neighbour as your self,* are words of the Scripture, which are well enough understood; but neither Children, nor the greatest part of Men, do understand why it is their duty so to do; they see not that the safety of the Common-wealth, and consequently their own, depends upon the doing of it. Every man by Nature, without Discipline, does in all his actions look upon, as far as he can see, the benefit that shall redound to himself by his obedience; he reads, that *covetousness is the root of all evil*; but he thinks, and sometimes finds it is the root of his Estate. And so in other cases, the Scripture says one thing, and they think another, weighing the commodities or incommunities of this present life onely, which are in their sight, never putting into the scales the good and evil of the Life to come, which they see not.

A. All

*A.* All this is no more than happens where the Scripture is sealed up in Greek and Latine, and the People taught the same things out of them by Preachers, but they that are of a Condition and Age fit to examine the sense of what they read, and that take a delight in searching out the grounds of their duty, certainly cannot chuse but by reading of the Scriptures come to such a sense of their Duty, as not only to obey the Laws themselves, but also to induce others to do the same, for commonly Men of Age and quality are followed by their inferiour Neighbours that look more upon the example of those Men whom they Reverence, and whom they are unwilling to displease, then upon Precepts and Laws.

*A.* These men of the Condition and Age you speak of are in my opinion the unfittest of all others to be trusted with the reading of the Scriptures; I know you mean such as have studied the *Greek* or *Latin*, or both Tongues, and that are withal such as love knowledge, and consequently take delight in finding out the meaning of the most hard Texts, or in thinking they have found it in case it be new and not found out by others; these are therefore they that pretermittting the easie places, that teach them their duty, fall to scanning only the Mysteries of Religion: Such as are, how it may be made out with wit, that there be three that bear Rule in Heaven, and those three but one, how the Deity could be made flesh, how that flesh could be really present in many places at once? where's the place, and what the Torments of Hell and other Metaphysical Doctrines? whether the Will of Man be free, or govern'd by the will of God, whether Sanctity comes by Inspiration or Education: by whom Christ now speaks to us, whether by the King, or by the Bible to every man that reads it, and interprets it to himself, or by a private Spirit, to every private Man: These and the like points are the study of the curious and the cause of all our late mischief; and the cause that makes the plainer sort of men whom the Scriptures had taught belief in Christ, love towards God, obedience towards the King, and sobriety of Behaviour; forget it all,

and place their Religion in the Disputable Doctrines, of your wise men.

A. I do not think these men fit to interpret the Scriptures to the rest: nor do I say that the rest ought to take their interpretation for the word of God. Whatsoever is necessary for them to know more, does them no good; but in case any of these unnecessary Doctrines shall be Authorized by the Laws of the King or other state: I say it is the duty of every Subject not to speak against them, in as much as 'tis every Mans duty to obey him, or them that have the Sovereign power, and the wisdom of all such powers, to punish such as shall publish or teach their private Interpretations when they are contrary to the Law: and likely to incline men to sedition or disputing against the Law.

B. They must punish then the most of those that have had there breeding in the Universities, for such curious questions in Divinity are first started in the Universities; and so are all those politick questions concerning the rights of Civil and Ecclesiastical Government, and there they are furnished with Arguments for Liberty, out of the works of *Aristotle, Plato Cicero, Seneca*, and out of the Histories of *Rome and Greece* for their disputation against the necessary power of their Sovereigns; therefore I dispare of any lasting peace, among our selves, till the Universities here shall bend and direct their studies to the settling of it, That is, to the Teaching of Absolute obedience to the Laws of the King, and to his publick Edicts under the great Seal of *England*: For I make no doubt but that solid reason backt with the Authority of so many Learned men, will more prevail for the keeping of us in peace within our selves than any victory over the Rebels; but I am afraid 'tis impossible to bring the Universities to such a compliance with the Actions of State as is necessary for the business; seeing the Universities have heretofore from time to time maintain'd the Authority of the Pope, contrary to all Laws; Divine, Civil, and Natural: against Right of our Kings, why can they

they not as well when they have all manner of Laws and Equity on their side, maintain the Rights of him that is both Sovereign of the Kingdom, and Head of the Church.

*B.* Why then were they not in all points for the Kings power presently after that King *Henry 8.* was in Parliament declared Head of the Church, as much as they were before for the Authority of the Pope.

*A.* Because the Clergy in the Universities by whom all things there are govern'd, and the Clergy wtho it the Universities as well Bishops as Inferiour Clerks did think that the pulling down of the Pope, was the setting up of them, (as to *England*) in his place, and made no question the greater part of them, but that their spiritual power did depend not upon the Authority of the King, but of Christ himself derived to them by successive Imposition of hands from Bishop to Bishop? notwithstanding they knew, that this derivation passed through the hands of Popes and Bishops whose Authority they had cast off, for though they were content that the Divine right which the Pope pretended to in *England* should be denied him, yet they thought it not so fit to be taken from the Church of *England*, whom they now supposed themselves to represent.

It seems they did not think it reasonable, that a Woman, or a Child, or a Man, that could not construe the *Hebrew, Greek, or Latin Bible*, nor know perhaps the Declensions and Conjugations of *Greek, or Latin*, Nounes and Verbs, should take upon him to govern so many Learned Doctors in matters of Religion, meaning matters of Divinity, for Religion has been for a long time, and is now by most people taken for the same thing with Divinity, to the great advantage of the Clergy.

*A.* And especially now amongst the Presbyterians, for I see few that are esteemed by them very good Christians besides such as can repeat their Sermons and wrangle for

them about Interpretat on of the Scripture , and fight for them also with their Bodies or Purfes when they shall be required to believe in Chrif is nothing with them, unlefs you believe as they bid you, Charity is nothing with them unlefs it be Charity and Liberality to them , and partaking with them in Faction; How we can have peace while this is our Religion, I cannot tell *Hæret Laterilithalis arundo.* The feditious Doctrine of the Presbyterians hath been stuck fo hard in the Peoples heads and memories, (I cannot fay into their hearts, for they understood nothing in it , but that they may lawfully rebel) That I fear the Commonwealth will never be cured.

*A.* The two great Vertues that were feverally in *Henry* the 7. *Henry* the 8. When they shall be Joyntly in one King, will eafily cure it, that of *Henry* the 7. was without much noife of the people to fill his Coffers, that of *Henry* the 8. was an early feverity, but this without the former cannot be exercifed.

*B.* This that you fay looks (methinks) like an advice to the King to let them alone till he have gotten ready money enough to levy and maintain a fufficient Army, and then to fall on them and destroy them.

*A.* God forbid that fo horrible Unchristian and unhuman design should ever enter into the Kings heart, I would have him have money enough, readily to raife an Army, able to fuppreff any Rebellion and to take from the Enemies all hope of fucceff, that they may nat dare to trouble him in the Reformation of the Universities, but to put none to death, without the AQual committing fuch Crimes as are already made Capital by the Laws, the Core of Rebellion as you have feen by this, and read of other Rebellions, are the Universities, which nevertheless are not to be caft away, but to be better disciplin'd, that is to fay, that the Politicks there taught be made to be (as true Politicks should be) fuch as are fit to make men know that it is their duty to obey all Laws whatfoever that shall  
be



be by the Authority of the King enacted, till by the same Authority they shall be repeal'd such as are fit to make men understand that the Civil Laws are Gods Laws, as they that make them, and to make men know that the people and the Church are one thing, and have but one Head, the King; and that no man has Title to govern under him that has it not from him; that the King owes his Crown to God only and to no man *Ecclesiastick*, or other, and that the Religion they teach there be a quiet waiting for the coming again of blessed Saviour, and in the meantime a Resolution to obey the Kings Laws, which are also Gods Laws, to injure no man, to be in Charity with all men, to cherish the Poor and Sick, and to live soberly, and free from Scandal, without mingling our Religion with points of Natural Philosophy, as freedom of Will, Incorporeal Substance; Everlasting News, *Ubiquities*, *Hypostases*. Which the people understand not, nor will ever care for, when the Universities shall be thus disciplin'd, there will come out of them from time to time, well Principled Preachers, and they that are ill principled from time to time fall away.

B. I think it a very good course, and perhaps the only one that can make our peace amongst our selves constant: for if men know not their Duty, what is there that can force them to obey they Laws? An Army you'll say; but what shall force the Army, were not the *Train'd Bands* an Army? Were they not the *Janisaries* that not long ago slew *Osman* in his own Palace at *Constantinople*? I am therefore of your opinion, both that men may be brought to a love of Obedience by Preachers and Gentlemen that imbibe good Principles in their Youth at the Universities; and also that we never shall have a lasting peace, till the Universities themselves be in such manner (as you have said) reformed, and the Ministers know they have no Authority but what the supreme Civil Power gives them: And the Nobility and Gentry know, that the Liberty of a State is not an Exemption from the Laws of their own Countrey, whether made by an Assembly, or  
by

by a Monarchy, but an Exemption from the constraint and Infolence of their Neighbours.

And now I am satisfied in this point, I will bring you back to the place from whence my Curiosity drew you to this long digression ; We were upon the point of Ship-money ; one of those grievances which the Parliament exclaimed against, as Tyranny and Arbitrary Government, thereby to single out (as you called it) the King from his Subjects, and to make a party against him, when they should need it : And now you may proceed if it please you, to such other Artifices as they used to the same purpose.

*A.* I think it were better to give over here our discourse of his business, and refer it to some other day that you shall think fit.

*B.* Content that day, I believe is not far off :

*A.* You are welcome, yet if you had stayed somewhat longer : My Money would have been so much the better provided for you.

*B.* Nay ! I pray you give me now what you have about you, for the rest I am content to take what time you please.

*A.* After the Parliament had made the people believe that the Extorting of Ship-money was unlawful, and the people thereby inclined to think it Tyrannical ; in the next place to increase their disaffection to his Majesty : They accused him of a purpose to Introduce and Authorize the *Roman* Religion in this Kingdom : Than which nothing was more hateful to the people, not because it was Erroneous ( which they had neither Learning nor Judgment enough to examine) but because they had been used to hear it inveyed against, in the Sermons and Discourses of the Preachers whom they trusted to, and this

was indeed the most effectual calumny to alienate the peoples affections from him that could possibly be invented; the colour they had for this stand was: First, that there was one *Rossesi Resident*, (at and a little before the time) from the Pope with the Queen. And one Mr. *George* Con-secratary to the Cardinal *Francisco Barbarini*, Nephew to Pope *Urban* the Eighth sent over under favour, and protection of the Queen (as was conceived) to draw as many persons of quality about the Court, as he should be able, to reconcile themselves to the Church of *Rome*, with what success I cannot tell, but it is likely he gained some, especially of the weaker Sex; If I may say they were gained by him, when not his Arguments but hope of favour from the Queen in all probability prevailed upon them.

B. In such a Conjunction as that was, it had perhaps been better they had not been sent.

A. There was exception also taken at a *Convent* of *Friers, Capucines* in *Summer-set-house*; though allowed by the Articles of Marriage; and it was reported that the *Jesuites* also were shortly after to be allowed a *Convent* in *Clerkenwel*, and in the mean time the principal Secretary Sir *Francis Windebank* was accused for having by his Warrant set at liberty some *English Jesuites* that had been taken and Imprisoned for returning into *England* after Banishment contrary to the Statute, which had made it Capital, also the great resort of *English* Catholicks to the Queens Chappel gave them Colour to blame the Queen her self, not only for that, but also for all the favours that had been shown to the Catholicks, insomuch that some of them did not stick to say openly that the King was governed by her.

B. Strange Injustice! The Queen was a Catholick by Profession, and therefore could not but endeavour to do the Catholicks all the good she could, she had not been truly that which she professed to be, but it seems they

they meant to force her to Hypocrisie, being Hypocrites themselves: Can any man think it a Crime in a Devout Lady (of what Sect soever) to seek Favour and Benediction of that Church whereof she is a Member.

A. To give the Parliament another Colour for their Accusation on foot for the King, as to introducing of Popery, there was a great Controversy between the Episcopal and Presbyterian Clergy about *Free-will*. The Dispute began first in the *Low-Countries*, between *Gomar* and *Arminius*, in the time of King *James*, who foreseeing it might trouble the Church of *England*, did what he could to compose the difference, an Assembly of Divines was therefore got together at *Dart*, to which also King *James* sent Divine or two, but it came to nothing, the question was left undecided, and became a Subject to be disputed of in the Universities; here all the Presbyterians were of the same mind with *Gomar*, but a very great many others not, and those were called here *Arminians*, who because the Doctrine of *Free-will* had been exploded as *Papistical*, and because the Presbyterians were far the greater number, and already in favour with the People, they were generally hated; it was easie therefore for the Parliament to make that Calumny pass currently with the People; when the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Land*, was for *Arminius*, and had a little before, by his Power Ecclesiastical, forbidden all Ministers to Preach to the People of *Predestination*; and when all Ministers that were gracious with him, and hoped for any Church-preferment fell to Preaching and Writing for *Free-will* to the uttermost of their Power, as a proof of their Ability and Merit. Besides they gave out, some of them, that the Archbishop was in heart a *Papist*, and in case he could effect here a Tolleration of the *Roman* Religion to have *Cardinal's Hat*, which was not only false, but also without any ground at all for a Suspicion.

B. It is a strange thing that Scholars obscure men, that could receive no Charity, but from the flame of the State should be suffered to bring their unnecessary Disputes, and together with them their quarrels out of the Universities into the Commonwealth, and more strange that the State should engage in their Parties, and not rather put them both to silence: A State can constrain obedience, but convince no Error, nor alter the mind of them that believe they have the better reason; Suppression of Doctrines does but unite and exasperate, that is, increase both the malice and power of them that have already believed them; But what are the Points they disagree in? Is there any Controversy between Bishop and Presbyterian concerning the Divinity or Humanity of Christ? Do either of them deny the Trinity, or any Article of the Creed? Does either Party Preach openly, or Write directly against Justice, Charity, Sobriety, or any other Duty, necessary to Salvation, except only the Duty to the King, and not that neither, but when they had a mind either to Rule or Destroy the King? *Lord have mercy upon us.* Can no body be saved that understands not their Disputations? or is there more requisite either of Faith, or Honesty for the Salvation of one Man than another? What needs so much preaching of Faith to us that are no *Heathens*, and believe already all that Christ and his Apostles have told us is necessary to salvation, and more too? Why is there so little Preaching of Justice? I have indeed heard Righteousness often recommended to the People, but I have seldom heard the Word Justice in their Sermons: nay, though in the *Latin and Greek Bible* the word Justice occurs exceeding often, yet in the *English* (though it be a word that every man understands (the word Righteousness) which few understand to signify the same, but take it rather for Righteousness of Opinion, than of Action or Intention) is put in the place of it.

A. I confess I know very few Controversies amongst *Christians* of points necessary to Salvation; they are the  
Questions

Questions of Authority and Power over the *Church*, or of Profit, or Honour to *Church-men*, that for the most part raise all the Controversies: For, what man is he that will trouble himself, and fall out with his Neighbours for the saving of my Soul, or the Soul of any other than himself? When the *Presbyterian Ministers*, and others, did so furiously Preach *Sedition*, and animate men to *Rebellion* in these late Wars, who was there that had not a Benefice, or having one, feared not to lose it, or some other part of his Maintenance, by the alteration of the Government, that did voluntarily, without any eye to reward, Preach so earnestly against *Sedition*, as the other party Preached for it? I confess, that for ought I have observed in History, and other Writings of the *Heathens*, *Greek* and *Latine*, that those *Heathens* were not at all short of us in point of Vertue and Moral Duties, notwithstanding that we have had much Preaching, and they none at all; I confess also, that considering what harm might proceed from a Liberty that Men have upon every *Sunday*, and oftner, to Harangue all the People of a Nation at one time, whilst the State is ignorant what they will say, and that there is no such thing permitted in all the World out of *Chriftendom*, nor therefore any Civil Wars about *Religion*; I have thought much Preaching an inconvenience, nevertheless I cannot think, that Preaching to the People the points of their Duty both to God and Man can be too frequent, so it be done by Grave, Discreet, and Ancient men, that are Reverenced by the People, and not by light quibbling young men, whom no Congregation is so simple as to look to be taught by, (as being a thing contrary to nature) or to pay them any Reverence, or to care what they say, except some few that may be delighted with their Jingling: I wish with all my Heart there were enough of such Discreet and Ancient men, as might suffice for all the Parishes in *England*, and that they would undertake it; but this is but a wish, I leave it to the wisdom of the *State*, to do what it pleaseth.

B. What

B. What did they next ?

A. Whereas the King had sent Prisoners into Places remote from *London* three Persons, that had been condemned for publishing seditious Doctrine, some in Writing, some in publick Sermons ; that *Parliament* (whether with his Majesties consent or no I have forgotten ) caused them to be released, and to return to *London*, meaning, I think, to try how the People would be pleased therewith, and by consequence, how their endeavours to draw the Peoples Affections from the King had already prospered. When these three came through *London*, it was a kind of Triumph, the People flocking together to behold them, and receiving them with such Acclamations, and almost Adoration, as if they had been let down from Heaven : Inasmuch that the *Parliament* was now sufficiently assured of a great and tumultuous Party, whensoever they should have occasion to use it, on confidence whereof, they proceeded to their next Plot, which was to deprive the King of such Ministers, as by their Courage, Wisdom and Authority, they thought most able to prevent, or oppose their further Designs against the King : And first the *House of Commons* resolv'd to impeach the Earl of *Strafford*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, of *High-Treason*.

B. What was that Earl of *Strafford* before he had that Place : And how had he offended the *Parliament*, or given them cause to think he would be their Enemy ? For I have heard, that in former *Parliaments*, he had been as *Parliamentary* as any other.

A. His Name was Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, a Gentleman both for Birth and Estate very considerable in his own Country, which was *Yorkshire* ; but more considerable for his Judgement in the Publick Affairs, not only of that Country, but generally of the Kingdom ; either as *Burgess* for some Borrough, or Knight of the Shire : For his Principles of *Politics*, they were the same that were generally proceeded upon by all Men else, that are thought fit

to be chosen for the *Parliament*; which are commonly these, *To take for the Rule of Justice and the Government, the Judgements and Acts of former Parliaments, which are commonly called Precedents; to endeavour to keep the People from being subject to Extra-Parliamentary Taxes of money; and from being with Parliamentary Taxes too much oppressed; to preserve to the People their Liberty of Body from their Arbitrary Power of the King out of Parliament; to seek Redress of Grievances.*

**B. What Grievances?**

*A. The Grievances were commonly such as these: The King's too much Liberality to some Favourite; the too much Power of any Minister of State or Officer; the Misdemeanours of Judges Civil or Spiritual, but especially all Unparliamentary raising of Money upon the Subjects. And commonly of late till such Grievances be redressed, they refuse, or at least make great difficulty to furnish the King with Money, necessary for the most urgent occasions of the Commonwealth.*

**B. How then can a King discharge his Duty, as he ought to do; or the Subject know which of his Masters he is to obey? For there are manifestly two Powers, which when they chance to differ, cannot both be obeyed.**

*A. 'Tis true, but they have not often differed so much to the danger of the Commonwealth, as they have done in this Parliament of 1640. In all the Parliaments of the late King Charles before the year 1640. my Lord of Strafford did appear in opposition to the King's Demands, as much as any man, and was for that Cause very much esteemed and cryed up by the People as a good Patriot, and one that courageously stood up in defence of their Liberties, and for the same cause was so much the more hated, when afterwards he endeavoured to maintain the Royal and just Authority of his Majesty.*



B. How came he to change his mind so much as it seems he did?

A. After the Dissolution of that Parliament holden in the year 1627 and 1628, the King finding no Money to be gotten from Parliaments, which he was not to buy with the Blood of such Servants and Ministers as he loved best, abstained a long time from calling any more, and had abstained longer, if the Rebellion of the *Scotch* had not forced him to it. During that Parliament the King made Sir *Thomas Wentworth* a Baron, recommended to him for his great ability, which was generally taken notice of by the disservice he had done the King in former Parliaments, but which might be useful also for him in the times that came on; and not long after that he made him of the Council, and again Lieutenant of *Ireland*, which place he discharged with great satisfaction and benefit to his Majesty, and continued in that Office, till by the Envy and Violence of the Lords and Commons of that unlucky Parliament of 1640. he died, in which year he was made General of the King's Forces against the *Scotch* that then entered into *England*, and the year before Earl of *Strafford*. The Pacification being made, and the Forces on both sides Disbanded, and the Parliament at *Westminster* now Sitting, it was not long before the House of Commons accused him to the House of Lords of High-Treason.

B. There was no great probability of his being a Traitor to the King, from whose favour he had received his greatness, and from whose protection he was to expect his safety: What was the Treason they laid to his Charge?

A. Many Articles were drawn up against him, but the sum of them was contained in these two; First, That he had traiterously endeavour'd to subvert the Fundamental Laws and Government of the Realm, and instead thereof to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government against Law. Secondly, That he had laboured

to subvert the Rights of Parliaments, and the ancient course of Parliamentary Proceedings.

B. Was this done by him without the knowledge of the King?

A. No.

B. Why then if it were Treason, did not the King himself call him in question by his Attorney? What had the House of Commons to do without his Command to accuse him to the House of Lords? They might have complain'd to the King, if he had not known it before, I understand not this Law.

A. Nor I.

B. Had this been by any former Statutes made Treason?

A. Not that I ever heard of; nor do I understand that any thing can be Treason against the King, that the King hearing and knowing does not think Treason: But it was a piece of that Parliaments Artifice to put the word Traiterously to any Article exhibited against a Man whose life they meant to take away.

B. Was there no particular Instance of action or words, out of which they argued that endeavour of his, to subvert the fundamental Laws of Parliament, whereof they accused him?

A. Yes, they said he gave the King counsel to reduce the Parliament to their duty by the *Irish* Army, which not long before my Lord of *Strafford* himself had caused to be levied there for the King's service; but it was never proved against him, that he advised the King to make use of it against the Parliament.

B. What

B. What are those Laws that are called fundamental? for I understand not how one Law can be more fundamental than another, except only that Law of Nature that binds us all to obey him whosoever he be, whom lawfully and for our own safety we have promised to obey, nor any other fundamental Law to a King but *Salus Populi*, The safety and well being of the people.

A. This Parliament in the use of these words when they accused any Man never regarded the signification of them, but the weight they had to aggravate their accusation to the Ignorant multitudes which think all faults hainous that are exprest in hainous terms: If they hate the reason accused as they did this man not only for being of the Kings party, but also for deserting the Parliaments party as an *Apostate*.

B. I pray you tell me also what they meant by Arbitrary Government, which they seemed so much to hate: Is there any Governour of a people in the World that is forced to Govern them, or forced to make this and that Law whether he will or no! I think, or if any be that forces him, does certainly make Laws and Govern Arbitrarily.

A. That is true, and the true meaning of the Parliament was, that not the King but they themselves should have the Arbitrary Government; not only of *England* but of *Ireland*, and (as it appeared by the event) of *Scotland* also.

B. How the King came by the Government of *Scotland* and *Ireland* by descent of his Ancestors, every body can tell; but if the King of *England* and his Heirs should chance (which God forbid) to fail, I cannot imagine what  
Tide

Title the Parliament of *England*, can acquire thereby to either of those Nations.

*A.* Yet they say, they have been conquer'd antiently by the *English* Subjects Money.

*B.* Like enough, and suitable to the row of their indence.

*A.* Impudence in Democratical Assemblies does almost all that is done, 'tis the Goddess of Rhetorick, and carries on proof with it for though ordinary men will not from so great boldness of affirmation conclude, there is great boldness of affirmation; conclude there is a great probability in the King affirmed upon this accusation: He was brought to his Trial at *Westminster-hall*, before the House of Lords, and found Guilty, and presently after declared a Traitor by a Bill of Attainder, that is, by Act of Parliament.

*B.* It is a strange thing that the Lords should be induced upon so light grounds to give a sentence, or give their assent to a Bill, so prejudicial to themselves and their posterity,

*A.* 'Twas not well done, and yet (as it seems) not ignorantly; for there is a clause in the Bill, that it should not be taken hereafter for an example, that is, for a prejudice in the like case hereafter.

*B.* That is worse than the Bill it self, and is a plain confession, that their Sentence was unjust; for what harm is their in the example of just Sentences? Besides, if hereafter the like case should happen, the Sentence is not at all made weaker by such a provision.

*A.* Indeed I believe, that the Lords, most of them, were not willing to condemn him of Treason, they were awed to it by the clamor of the common people, that came to *Westminster*,

*Westminster*, crying out, *Justice, Justice against the Earl of Strafford*, the which were caused to flock together by some of the House of Commons, that were well assured, after the Triumphant Welcōme of *Prinse, Burton*, and *Bastwick*, to put the People into Tumult upon any occasion they desired: They were awed unto it partly also by the House of Commons it self, which if it desired to undo a Lord, had no more to do but to Vote him a Delinquent.

*A.* A Delinquent ! what's that ? A sinner is't not ? Did they mean to undo all sinners ?

*A.* By Delinquent they meant onely a man, to whom they would do all the hurt they could ; but the Lords did not yet, I think, suspect they meant to casheer their whole House.

*B.* It's a strange thing, the whole House should not perceive the ruine of the King's power, or weakening of themselves ; for they could not think it likely, that they ever meant to take the Sovereignty from the King, to give it to them who were few in number, and less in power, than so many Commoners, because less beloved by the People.

*A.* But it seems not so strange to me for the Lords, for their personal abilities, as they were no less, so also were they no more skilful in the Publick affairs than the Knights and Burgesses ; for there is no reason to think, that if one that is to day a Knight of the Shire in the Lower House, be to morrow made a Lord, and a Member of the Higher House, is therefore wiser than he was before : they are all of both Houses prudent and able men as any in the Land, in the business of their private Estates, which requires nothing but diligence and a Natural Wit to govern them ; but for the Government of a Common-wealth neither Wit, nor Prudence, nor Diligence is enough, without

without infallible Rules, and the true Science of Equity and Justice.

*B.* If this be true, it is impossible any Common-wealth in the World, whether Monarchy, Aristocracy, or Democracy, should continue long without change or sedition, tending to change either of the Government, or of the Governours.

*A.* 'Tis true, nor have any the greatest Common-wealths in the World been long from Sedition; the *Greeks* had it, first, their Petty Kings, and then by Sedition came to be Petty Common-wealths, and then growing to be greater Common-wealths, by Sedition again became Monarchies, and all for want of Rules of Justice for the common People to take notice of; which if the People had known in the beginning of every of these Seditions, the ambitious persons could never have had the hope to disturb their Government after it had been once settled; for ambition can do little without hands, and few hands it could have, if the common People were as diligently instructed in the true Principles of their Duty, as they are terrifi'd and amazed by Preachers with fruitless and dangerous Doctrines concerning the nature of Man's Will, and many other Philosophical Points, that tend not at all to the salvation of the Soul in the World to come, nor to the ease in this life, but onely to the discretion towards the Clergy, of that Duty which they ought to perform to the King.

*B.* For ought I see, all the States of Christendom will be subject to those fits of Rebellion as long as the World lasteth.

*A.* Like enough, and yet the fault (as I have said) may be easily mended, by mending the Universities.

B. How long had the Parliament now sitten?

A. It began *Novemb. 3. 1640.* My Lord of *Strafford* was Impeached of *Treason* before the *Lords*, *November 12*, sent to the *Tower*, *November 22*, his Trial began *March 22*, and ended *April 13*. After his Trial he was voted guilty of *High Treason* in the *House of Commons*, and after that in the *House of Lords*, *May 6*, and on the *12 of May* beheaded.

B. Great Expedition! But could not the King for all that have saved him by a Pardon?

A. The King had heard all that passed at his Trial, and had declared he was unsatisfied concerning the Justice of their Sentence, and (I think) notwithstanding the danger of his own Person from the fury of the People, and that he was counselled to give way to his Execution, not only by such as he most relied on, but also by the Earl of *Strafford* himself, he would have pardoned him, if that could have preserved him from the Tumult raised and countenanced by the *Parliament* it self, for the terrifying of those they thought might favour him, and yet the King himself did not stick to confess afterwards that he had done amiss, in that he did not rescue him.

B. 'Twas an Argument of a good disposition in the King, but I never read that *Augustus Caesar* acknowledged that he did a fault in abandoning *Cicero* to the fury of his Enemy *Antonius*, perhaps because *Cicero* having been of the contrary Faction to his Father, had done *Augustus* no service at all, not out of favour to him, but only out of enmity to *Antonius*, and of love to the *Senate*, that is indeed out of love to himself that swayed the *Senate*, as it is very likely the Earl of *Strafford* came over to the King's Party for his own ends, having been so much against the King in former Parliaments.

A. We cannot safely judge of men's intentions; but I have observed often that such as seek prefor-

ment by their Stubbornness have missed of their aim, and on the other side, that those Princes, that with preferment are forced to buy the Obedience of their Subjects, are already, or must be soon after in a very weak condition, for in a Market where Honour is to be bought with Stubbornness, there will be a great many as able to buy as my Lord *Strafford* was.

*B.* You have read that when *Hercules* fighting with the *Hydra*, had cut off any one of his many Heads, there still arose two other Heads in it's place, and yet at last he cut them off all.

*A.* The story is told false, for *Hercules* at first did not cut off those Heads but bought them off, and afterwards when he saw that did him no good, then he cut them off and got the Victory.

*B.* What did they next?

*A.* After the first Impeachment of the *Earl of Strafford*, the *House of Commons* upon *December 18.* accused the *Arch-Bishop of Canterbury* also of *High Treason*, that is, of a Design to introduce Arbitrary Government, &c. For which he was (*February 18.*) sent to the *Tower*, but his Trial and Execution were deferred a long time, till *January 10. 1643.* for the entertainment of the *Scots* that were come into *England* to aid the *Parliament*.

*B.* Why did the *Scots* think there were so much danger in the *Arch-Bishop of Canterbury*? he was not a Man of War, nor a Man able to bring an Army into the Field; but he was perhaps a very great Politician.

*A.* That did not appear by any remarkable events of his Councils, I never heard but he was a very honest man for his Morals, and a very zealous promoter of the Church Government by Bishops, and that he desired to have the Service of God performed, and the House of God adorned as suitably as was possible, to the Honour we ought to do to the Divine Majesty. But to bring, as he did,  
into



into the State his Former Controversies, I mean his squabbings in the University about Free Will, and his standing upon Punctilio's concerning the Service-Book and its Rubricks was not (in my opinion) an Argument of his sufficiency in Affairs of State. About the same time they passed an Act (which the King consented to) for a Triennial Parliament, wherein was Enacted, That after the present Parliament, there should be a Parliament call'd by the King within the space of three years; and so from three years to three years to meet at *Westminster* upon a certain day named in the Act.

B. But what if the King did not call it; finding it perhaps inconvenient or hurtful to the Safety or Peace of his People which God hath put into his Charge; for I do not well comprehend how any Sovereign can well keep a People in order when his hands are tied, or when he hath any other Obligation upon him, than the benefit of those he Governs. And at this time for any thing you told me they acknowledged the King for their Sovereign.

A. I know not, but such was the Act: And it was farther Enacted, That if the King did it not by his own Command, then the Lord Chancellour or the Lord Keeper for the time being should send out the Writs of Summons: And if the Chancellour refused, then the Sheriffs of the several Counties of themselves at the next County Courts before the day set down for the Parliament's meeting, should proceed to Election of the Members for the said Parliament.

B. But what if the Sheriffs refused?

A. I think they were to be sworn to it, but for that and other particulars I refer you to the Act.

*B.* To whom should they be sworn when there is no Parliament?

*A.* No doubt, but to the *King*, whether there be a Parliament sitting or no.

*B.* Then the *King* may Release them of their Oath,

*A.* Besides, They obtained of the *King* the putting down the *Star Chamber* and the High Commission Courts.

*B.* Besides, If the *King* upon the refusal, should fall upon them in an Anger, Who shall (the Parliament not sitting) Protect either the Chancellor or the Sheriffs in their Disobedience?

*A.* I pray you do not ask me any Reason of such things, I understand no better than you: I tell you only an Act passed to that purpose, and was Signed by the *King* in the middle of *February*, a little before the Arch-Bishop was sent to the *Tower*. Besides this Bill, the two Houses of Parliament agreed upon another, wherein it was Enacted, That the present Parliament would continue till both the Houses did consent to the Dissolution of it; which Bill also the *King* Signed the same day he Signed the Warrant for the Execution of the Earl of *Strafford*.

*B.* What a great Progress made the Parliament towards the ends of the most seditious Members of both Houses in so little time. They sat down in *November*, and now it was *May*; in this space of time, which is but half a year, they won from the King the Adherence which was due to him from his People: they drove his faithfullest Servants from him, beheaded the Earl of *Strafford*, Imprisoned the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, obtained a Triennial Parliament after their own Dissolution, and a continuance of their own sitting as long as they listed; which last amounted to a total extinction of the King's right in case that such a Grant were valid, which I think is not: unless the sovereignty it self  
be

be in plain terms renounced; which it was not, but what Money by way of subsidie or otherwise did they grant the King in recompence of all these his large concessions?

A. None at all, but often promised they would make him the most glorious King that ever was in *England*; which were words that passed well enough for welmeaning with the *common* People.

B. But the Parliament was contented now: for I cannot imagin what they should desire more from the King, than he had now granted them.

A. Yes they desired the whole and absolute sovereignty, and to change the *Monarchical* Government into an *Oligarchie*, that is to say, to make the Parliament consisting of a few *Lords*, and about 400 *Commoners*, absolute in the sovereignty for the present, and shortly after to lay the House of *Lords* aside, for this was the Design of the *Presbyterian Ministers*, who taking themselves to be, by right, the onely Lawful Government of the *Church*, endeavoured to bring the same Form of Government into the *Civil* *State*, and as the Spiritual Laws were to be made by their *Synods*, so their Civil Laws should be made by the *House of Commons*; who, as they thought, would no less be ruled by them afterwards, than formerly they had been: wherein they were deceived, and found themselves out-gon by their own *Disciples*, though not in Malice yet in Wit.

B. What followed after this?

A. In *August* following the King supposing he had now sufficiently obliged the Parliament, to proceed no farther against him, took a Journey into *Scotland*, to satisfie his Subjects there, as he had done here; intending perhaps so to gain their good wills, that in case the Parliament here should levy Arms against him, they should not be aided by the *Scots*; wherein he also was deceived, for though they seemed satisfied with what he did (whereof one

thing was his giving away to the *Abolition* of *Episcopacy*: Yet afterwards they made a League with the Parliament, and for Money (when the king began to have the better of the Parliament) invaded *England*, in the Parliaments Quarrel, but this was a Year or two after.

B. Before you go any farther, I desire to know the Ground and Original of that Right, which either the House of Lords, or House of Commons, or both together pretend to.

A. It is a question of things so long past that they are now forgotten; nor have we any thing to conjecture by, but the Records of our own Nation; and some small and obscure fragments of *Roman Histories*: And for the Records, seeing they are of things only done sometimes justly, sometimes unjustly, you can never by them know what Right they had, but only what Right they pretended.

B. Howsoever let me know what light we have in this matter from the *Roman Histories*.

A. It would be too long, and an useless digression to cite all the Antient Authors that speak of the forms of those Common-wealths, which were amongst our first Ancestors, the *Saxons* and other *Germans*, and of other Nations, from whom we derive the Titles of Honour, now in use in *England*; nor will it be possible to derive from them any Arguments of Right, but only Examples of fact, which by the Ambition of *Potent Subjects*, have been oftener unjust than otherwise; and for those *Saxons* or *Angles*, that in Antient times by several Invasions, made themselves Masters of this Nation, they were not in themselves one Body of Common-wealth, but only a League of divers Petty *German* Lords and States, such as was the *Grecian* Army in the *Trojan War*, without other Obligations, than that which proceeded from their own fear and weakness; nor were these  
Lords

*Lords* for the most part the Sovereigns at home in their own Country, but chosen by the people for the Captains of the Forces they brought with them; And therefore it was not without Equity, that when they had conquer'd any part of the Land, and made some one of them King thereof, the rest should have greater Priviledges than the common People and Soldiers, amongst which Priviledges, a man may easily conjecture this to be one, that they should be made acquainted, and be of Council with him that hath the Sovereignty in matters of Government; and have the greatest and most honourable Offices, both in Peace and War: But because there can be no Government where there is more than one Sovereign, it cannot be inferr'd that he had a Right to oppose the King's Resolutions by force, nor to enjoy those honours and places longer than they should continue good Subjects: And we find that the Kings of *England* did upon every great occasion call them together by the name of Discreet and Wise men of the Kingdom, and hear their Councils, and make them Judges of all Causes, that during their Sitting were brought before them. But as he summon'd them at his own pleasure; so had he also ever at his pleasure power to Dissolve them. The *Normans* also that descended from the *Germans*, as we did, had the same Customs in this particular; and by this means, this Priviledge have the Lords to be of your King's great Council; and when they were assembled, to be the highest of the King's Court of Justice, continued still after the Conquest to this day. But though there be amongst the Lords divers Names or Titles of Honour, yet they have their Priviledge by the only name of Baron, a name receiv'd from the Antient *Gauls*, amongst whom that name signified the King's man; or rather one of his great men: By which it seems to me, that though they gave him Council when he requir'd it, yet

they had no Right to make War upon him, if he did not follow it.

*B.* When began first the House of Commons to be part of the King's great Council?

*A.* I do not doubt but that before the Conquest, some discreet men, and known to be so, by the King, were called by special Writ to be of the same Council, though they were not Lords. But that is nothing to the House of Commons: the Knights of shires, and Burgesses, were never called to Parliament, for ought that I know, till the beginning of *Edward* the first, or the latter end of the Reign of *Henry* the third. immediately after the misbehaviour of the Barons; and for ought any man knows, were called on purpose to weaken that Power of the Lords, which they had so freshly abused. Before the time of *Henry* the third, the Lords were debarred most of them from such as in the Invasions and Conquests of the *Germans* were Peers and Fellow-Kings, till one was made King of them all, and their Tenants were their Subjects, as it is at this day with the Lords of *France*. But after the time of *Henry* the third, the Kings began to make Lords in the place of them, whose Issue sail'd Titularly only; without the Lands belonging to their Title; and by that means their Tenants being bound no longer to serve them in the Wars, they grew every day less and less able to make a Party against the King, though they continued still to be his great Council: And as their Power decreased, so the Power of the House of Commons increased: But I do not find that they were part of the King's Council at all, nor Judges over other men, though it cannot be denied but a King may ask their advice, as well as the advice of any other. But I do not find that the end of their summoning was to give advice; but only in case they had any Petitions for Redress of Grievances, to be ready there with them

them whilst the King had his great Council about him.

But neither they, nor the Lords, could present to the King as a Grievance; That the King took upon him to make the Laws, to chuse his own Privy-Council, to raise Money and Soldiers, to defend the Peace and Honour of the Kingdom, to make Captains in his Army, to make Governours of his Castles whom he pleased; for this had been to tell the King that it was one of their Grievances that he was King.

B. What did the Parliament do whilst the King was in *Scotland*?

A. The King went in *August*; after which the Parliament, *September* the 8th, adjourn'd till the 20th of *October*, and the King return'd about the end of *November* following, in which time the most Seditious of both Houses, and which had designed the Change of Government, and to cast off Monarchy, (but yet had not wit enough to set up another Government in its place, and consequently left it to the chance of War) made a Cabal amongst themselves, in which they projected how by seconding one another to Govern the House of Commons; and invented how to put the Kingdom by the Power of that House into a Rebellion, which they then called a posture of Defence against such Dangers from abroad as they themselves should feign and publish. Besides, whilst the King was in *Scotland*, the *Irish* Papists got together a great Party, with an Intention to Massacre the Protestants there, and had laid a design for the seizing of *Dublin* Castle, *October* the 20th. where the King's Officers of the Government of the County made their Residence, and had effected it, had it not been Discovered the night before: The manner of the discovery, and the Murders they committed in the Country afterwards, I need not tell you, since the whole story of it is extant.

*B.* I wonder they did not expect and provide for a Rebellion in *Ireland*, as soon as they began to quarrel with the King in *England*: For was there any body so ignorant as not to know that the *Irish* Papists did long for a change of Religion there, as well as the Presbyterians in *England*? Or that in general the *Irish* Nation did hate the name of Subjection to *England*, or would longer be quiet than they feared an Army out of *England* to chastize them? What better time then, could they take for their Rebellion than this, wherein they were encouraged, not only by our weakness, caused by this Division between the King and his Parliament, but also by the Example of the Presbyterians, both of the *scotch* and *English* Nation? But what did the Parliament do upon this occasion in the King's absence?

*A.* Nothing; but consider what use they might make of it to their own ends; partly by imputing it to the King's evil Councillors, and partly by occasion thereof to demand of the King the Power of Pressing and Ordering of Soldiers, which Power whosoever has, has also without doubt the whole Sovereignty.

*B.* When came the King back?

*A.* He came back the 25th of *November*, and was welcomed with the Acclamations of the common people, as much as if he had been the most beloved of the Kings before him, but found not a Reception by the Parliament answerable to it: They presently began to pick new Quarrels against him out of every thing he said to them. *December 2.* the King called together both Houses of Parliament, and then did only recommend unto them the raising of Succours for *Ireland*.

*B.* What Quarrel could they pick out of that?

*A.* None but in order thereto, as they may pretend, they had a Bill in Agitation to assert the power of Levying and Pressing Soldiers to the two Houses of the Lords and Commons; which was as much as to take from the King the Power of the *Militia*, which is in effect



effect the whole Sovereign Power; for he that hath the Power of Levying and Commanding of his Soldiers, has all other Rights of Sovereignty which he shall please to claim: The King hearing of it, called the Houses of Parliament together again on *December* the 14th, and then pressed again the business of *Ireland*, (as there was need) for all this while the *Irish* were murdering the *English* in *Ireland*, and strengthening themselves against the Forces they expected to come out of *England*, and withall told them, he took notice of the Bill in Agitation for Pressing of Soldiers; and that he was content it should pass with a *Salvo Jure* both for him and them, because the present time was unreasonable to dispute it in.

B. What was there unreasonable in this?

A. Nothing; what's unreasonable is one question; what they quarrell'd at is another: They quarrell'd at this, that His Majesty took notice of the Bill while it was in debate in the House of Lords, before it was presented to him, in the Course of Parliament: And also that he shewed himself displeased with those that propounded the third Bill; both which they declared to be against the Privileges of Parliament, and petitioned the King to give them Reparation against those by whose evil Council he was induced to it, that they might receive condign punishment.

B. This was cruel proceeding: Do not the Kings of *England* use to sit in the Lords House when they please? And was not this Bill then in debate in the House of Lords? It is a strange thing that a man should be lawfully in the company of men, where he must needs hear and see what they say and do; and yet must not take notice of it; so much as to the same Company; for though the King was not present at the Debate it self, yet it was lawful for any of the Lords to make him acquainted with it. Any one of the House of Commons, though not present at a Proposition,

or Debate, in the House, nevertheless hearing of it from some of his fellow Members, may certainly, not only take notice of it, but also speak to it in the House of Commons: But to make the King give up his Friends and Counsellors to them to be put to Death, Banishment or Imprisonment, for their good will to him, was such a Tyranny over a King, no King ever exercised over any Subject, but in cases of Treason, or Murder, and seldom then.

A. Presently hereupon grew a kind of War between the Peers of Parliament, and those of the Secretaries, and other able Men that were with the King. For upon the 15th of *December* they sent to the King a Paper called a Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom, and with it a Petition, both which they caused to be published; in the Remonstrance they complained of certain mischievous Designs of a Malignant Party then, before the beginning of the Parliament grown ripe, and did set forth what means had been used for the preventing of it by the Wisdom of the Parliament; what Rubs they had found therein; what course was fit to be taken for the restoring and establishing the Antient Honour, Greatness and Safety of the Crown and Nation: And of those Designs the Promoters and Actors were, they said,

1. Jesuits and Papists.

2. The Bishops, and part of the Clergy, that cherish Formality as a support of their own Ecclesiastical Tyranny and Usurpation.

3. Counsellors and Courtiers, that for private ends (they said) had engaged themselves to farther the Interests of some Foreign Princes.

B. It may well be, that some of the Bishops, and also some of the Court may have, in pursuit of their private Interest, done something indiscreetly, and perhaps wickedly; therefore I pray tell me particularly what their Crimes were; for methinks the King should not have conniv'd at any thing against his own Supreme Authority.

A. The

*A.* The Parliament were not very keen against them that were against the King. They made no doubt but all they did was by the King's Command, but accused thereof the Bishops, Counsellors, and Courtiers, as being a more mannerly way of Accusing the King himself, and defaming him to his Subjects. For the truth is, the Charge they brought against them was so general, as not to be called an Accusation, but railing. As first; They said, they nourished Questions of Prerogatives and Liberty between the King and his People, to the end, that seeming much addicted to His Majesty's Service, they might get themselves into places of greatest Trust and Power in the Kingdom.

*B.* How could this be call'd an Accusation, in which there is no Fact for any Accusers to apply their Proof to, or their Witnesses? for, granting that these Questions of Prerogative had been moved by them, who can prove that their End was to gain to themselves and Friends the Places of Trust and Power in the Kingdom?

*A.* A second Accusation was, that they endeavour'd to suppress the Purity and Power of Religion.

*B.* That's Canting. It is not in Man's power to suppress the Power of Religion.

*A.* They meant, that they suppress the Doctrine of the *Presbyterians*; that is to say, the very Foundation of their Parliaments Treacherous Pretensions.

A third; That they cherished *Arminians*, *Papists*, and *Liberines* (by which they meant the common *Protestants* that meddle not with Disputes) to the end they might compose a body fit to Act according to their Counsels and Resolutions.

A fourth; That they endeavoured to put the King upon other courses of raising of Money, than by the ordinary way of Parliaments. Judge whether these may be properly called Accusations, or not rather spiteful Reproaches of the King's Government.

*B.* Methinks

*B.* Methinks this last was a very great fault; for what good could there be in putting the King upon any odd course of getting Money, when the Parliament was willing to supply him as far as to the security of the Kingdom, or to the honour of the King should be necessary?

*A.* But I told you before they would give him none, but with a Condition he should cut off the heads of whom they pleased, how faithfully soever they had serv'd him; and if he would have sacrificed all his Friends to their Ambition, yet they would have found other excuses to deny him Subsidies; for they were resolv'd to take from him the Sovereign Power to themselves, which they would never do without taking great care that he should have no Money at all. In the next place, they put into the Remonstrance as faults of them whose Council the King followed, All those things which since the beginning of the King's Reign were by them misliked, whether faults or not, and whereof they were not able to judge, for want of knowledge of the Causes and Motives that induced the King to do them, and were known only by the King himself, and such of his Privy-Council as he revealed them to.

*B.* But what were those particular pretended faults?

*A.* First, The Dissolution of the last Parliament at Oxford.

Secondly, The Dissolution of his second Parliament, being in the second year of his Reign.

Thirdly, The Dissolution of his Parliament in the fourth year of his Reign.

Fourthly, The fruitless Expedition against *Cales*.

Fifthly, the Peace made with *Spain*, whereby the *Palatine's* Cause was deserted and left to chargeable and hopeless Treaties.

Sixthly, The sending of Commissions to raise Money by way of Loan.

Seventhly, Raising of ship-money.

Eighthly,

Eighthly, Enlargements of Forrefts contrary to *Magna Charta*.

Ninthly, The Designment of Engrossing all the Gun-powder into one hand, and keeping it in the Tower of *London*.

Tenthly, A Design to bring in the Use of Brass-Money.

Eleventhly, The Fines, Imprisonments, Stigmatisings, Mutilations, Whippings, Pillories, Gaggings, Confinements and Banishments, by Sentence in the Court of Star-Chamber.

Twelfthly, The displacing of Judges.

Thirteenthly, The Illegal Acts of Council-Table.

Fourteenthly, The Arbitrary and Illegal Power of the Earl-Marshall's Court.

Fifteenthly, The Abuses in Chancery, Exchequer-Chamber, and Court of Wards.

Sixteenthly, The selling of Titles of Honour, of Judges and Serjeants Places, and other Offices.

Seventeenthly, The Insolence of Bishops, and other Clerks in 'uspensions, Excommunications, and Degradations of divers painful, and learned, and pious Ministers.

*B.* Were there any such Ministers Degraded, Depraved, or Excommunicated?

*A.* I cannot tell: But I remember I have heard threatened divers painful, unlearned and seditious Ministers.

Eighteenthly, The Excess of Severity of the High-Commission-Court.

Nineteenthly, The Preaching before the King against the Property of the Subject, and for the Prerogative of the King above the Law, and divers other petty Quarrels they had to the Government; which though they were laid upon this Faction, yet they knew they would fall upon the King himself in the Judgment of the People, to whom by Printing it was communicated.

Again, After the Dissolution of the Parliament *May*  
the

the 5th, 1640. they find other faults; as the Dissolution it self; the Imprisoning some Members of both Houses; a forced Loan of Money attempted in London; the Continuance of the Convocation when the Parliament was ended; and the favour shewed to Papists by Secretary *Windebank* and others.

B. All this will go currant with common people for Mis-government, and for faults of the King's, though some of them were Mis-fortunes, and both the Mis-fortunes and the Mis-governments (if any were) were the faults of the Parliament, who by denying to give him Money, did both frustrate his Attempts abroad, and put him upon those extraordinary ways (which they call Illegal) of raising Money at home.

A. You see what a heap of Evils they have raised to make a shew of ill Government to the People, which they second with an enumeration of the many services they have done the King in overcoming a great many of them, though not all, and in divers other things, and say, that though they had contracted a Debt to the Scots of 22000 l. and granted six Subsidies, and a Bill of Pole-money worth six Subsidies more, yet that God had so blessed the Endeavours of this Parliament, that the Kingdom was a gainer by it; and then follows the Catalogue of those good things they had done for the King and Kingdom: For the Kingdom they had done (they said) these things; They had abolished Ship-money, They had taken away Coat and Conduct-money, and other Military Charges, which they said amounted to little less than the Ship-money; That they suppress all Monopolies, which they reckoned above a Million yearly sav'd by the Subject; That they had quell'd Living Grievances, meaning, Evil Counsellors and Actors by the Death of my Lord *Strafford*; by the flight of the Chancellor *Finch*, and of Secretary *Windebank*, by the Imprisonment of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and Judges; that they

had past a Bill for a Triennial Parliament, and another for the Continuance of the present Parliament, till they should think fit to Dissolve themselves.

*B.* That is to say, for ever, if they be suffered. But the sum of all those things which they had done for the Kingdom, is, that they had left it without Government, without Strength, without Money, without Law, and without good Council.

*A.* They reckoned also putting down of the High-Commission, and the abating of the Power of the Council-Table, and of the Bishops, and their Courts; the taking away of unnecessary Ceremonies in Religion, removing of Ministers from their Livings that were not of their Faction, and putting in such as were.

*B.* All this was but their own, and not the Kingdoms business.

*A.* The Good they had done the King was, first, (they said) the giving of 25000 *l.* a month for the Relief of the Northern Counties.

*B.* What need of Relief had the Northern more than the rest of the Counties of *England*?

*A.* Yes, In the Northern Counties were quartered the *Scotch* Army, which the Parliament call'd in to oppose the King, and consequently their Quarters was to be discharged.

*B.* True, but by the Parliament that call'd them in.

*A.* But they say no; and that this Money was given the King, because he is bound to protect his Subjects.

*B.* He is no farther bound to that, than they to give him Money wherewithal to do it. This is very great Impudence, to raise an Army against the King, and with that Army to oppress their Fellow-subjects. and then require that the King should relieve them; that is to say, be at the Charge of Paying the Army that was raised to fight against him.

*A.* Nay farther, they put to the King's Accounts the 30000 *l.* given to the *Scots*, without which they would not have Invaded *England*; besides many other things that I now remember not.

*B.* I

*B.* I did not think there had been so great Impudence and Villany in Mankind.

*A.* You have not observ'd the world long enough to see all that's ill: such was their Remonstrance, as I have told you; with it they sent a Petition containing three points.

First, That His Majesty would deprive the Bishops of their Votes in Parliament, and remove such Oppressions in Religion, Church, Government, and Discipline, as they had brought in.

Secondly, That he would remove from his Council, all such as should promote the Peoples Grievances, and Imploy in his great and public Affairs such as the Parliament should confide in.

Thirdly, That he would not give away the Lands Escheated to the Crown by the Rebellion in *Ireland*.

*B.* This last point, methinks, was not wisely put in at this time; it should have been reserv'd till they had subdued the Rebels, against whom there were yet no Forces sent over: 'Tis like selling the Lion's Skin, before they had kill'd him. But what answer was made to the other two Propositions?

*A.* What answer should be made but a Denial?

About the same time the King himself Exhibited Articles against six persons of the Parliament, five whereof were of the House of Commons, and one of the House of Lords, accusing them of High Treason: and upon the fourth of *January* went himself to the House of Commons to demand those five of them; but private notice having been given by some Treacherous person about the King, they had absented themselves, and by that means frustrated His Majesties Intention; and after he was gone, the House making a hainous matter of it, and a High Breach of their Priviledges, adjourned themselves into *London*, there to sit as a General Committee, pretending they were not safe at *Westminster*; for the King, when he went to the House to demand those persons,



persons, had somewhat more attendance with him ( but not otherwise armed than his servants used to be ) than he ordinarily had, and would not be pacified ( though the King did afterwards wave the prosecution of those persons ) unless he would also discover to them those that gave him Counsel to go in that manner to the Parliament-House, to the end they might receive condign punishment, which was the Word they used instead of Cruelty.

B. This was a harsh Demand: Was it not enough that the King should forbear his Enemies, but also that he must betray his Friends? If they thus tyrannize over the King before they have gotten the Sovereign Power into their Hands, how will they tyrannize over their Fellow-Subjects when they have gotten it?

A. So as they did.

B. How long staid that Committee in London?

A. Not above 2 or 3 Days, and then were brought from London to the Parliament-House by Water in great Triumph, guarded with a tumultuous number of Armed Men, there to sit in security in despite of the King, and make Traiterous Acts against Him, such and as many as they listed, and under favour of these Tumults, to frighten away from the House of Peers all such as were not of their own Faction; for at this time the Rabble was so insolent, that scarce any of the Bishops durst go to the House for fear of Violence upon their Persons: insomuch that Twelve of them excused themselves of Coming thither, and by way of Petition to the King remonstrated that they were not permitted to go quietly to the Performance of that Duty, and protesting against all Determinations as of none Effect, that should pass in the House of Lords during their forced Absence, which the House of Commons taking hold of, sent up to the Peers one of their Members to accuse them of High Treason; whereupon Ten of them were sent to the Tower, after which time there was no more words

words of their High Treason, but there passed a Bill, by which they were deprived of their Votes in Parliament: And to this Bill they got the King's Assent, and in the beginning of *September* after they Voted the Bishops should have no more to do in the Government of the Church, but to this they had not the King's Assent, the War being now begun.

*B.* What made the Parliament so averse to Episcopacy, and especially the House of Lords, whereof the Bishops were Members: For I see no reason why they should do it to gratifie a number of poor Parish Priests that were Presbyterians, and that were never likely to serve the Lords; but, on the contrary, to do their best, to pull down their power, and subject them to their Synods and Classes.

*A.* For the Lords, very few of them did perceive the intention of the Presbyterians; and besides that, they durst not, I believe, oppose the Lower House.

*B.* But why were the Lower House so earnest against them?

*A.* Because they meant to make use of their Tenants; and with pretended Sanctity, to make the King and his Party odious to the People, by whose help they were to set up *Democracy*, and Depose the King; or to let him have the Title only so long as he should Act for their purposes: But not only the Parliament, but in a manner all the People of *England*, were their Enemies upon the account of their behaviour, as being (they said) too imperious. This was all that was colourable laid to their charge; the main of the pulling them down was the Envy of the Presbyterians, that incensed the People against them, and against Episcopacy it self.

*B.* How would the Presbyterians have the Church to be govern'd?

*A.* By National and Provincial Synods.

*B.* Is not this to make the National Assembly an Arch-

Arch-Bishop, and the Provincial Assemblies so many Bishops?

A. Yes; but every Minister shall have the delight of sharing the Government, and consequently of being able to be reveng'd on them that do not admire their Learning, and help to fill their purses, and win to their service them that do.

B. 'Tis a hard Case, that there should be two Factions to trouble the *Common-wealth* without any Interest of their own, other than every particular man may have; and that their quarrels should be only about Opinions, that is, about who has the most Learning, as if their Learning ought to be the Rule of Governing the whole World. What is it they are Learned in? is it Politicks and Rules of State? I know it is called Divinity; but I hear almost nothing preach't but matter of Philosophy; for Religion in itself admits of no Controversie: 'Tis a Law of the Kingdom, and ought not to be disputed. I do not think they pretend to speak with God, and know his will by any other way than reading the Scriptures, which we also do.

A. Yes, some of them do, and give themselves out for Prophets, by extraordinary Inspiration; but the rest pretend only (for their Advancement to Benefices, and Charge of Souls) a greater skill in the Scriptures than other men have by reason of their breeding in the Universities, and knowledge there gotten of the Latin Tongue, and some also of the Greek and Hebrew Tongues, wherein the Scriptures were written; besides their knowledge of Natural Philosophy, which is there publickly taught.

B. As for the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, it was once (to the Detection of the *Roman* Fraud, and to the Ejection of the Romish Power) very profitable, or rather necessary. But now that is done, and we have the Scripture in English, and Preaching in English, I see no great need of Latin, Greek and Hebrew: I should think

think my self better qualified by understanding well the Languages of our Neighbours, French, Dutch, and Italian. I think it was never seen in the world before the Power of Popes was set up, that Philosophy was much conducing to Power in a Commonwealth.

A. But Philosophy, together with Divinity, hath very much conduced to the Advancement of the Professors thereof, to places of the greatest Authority, next to the Authority of Kings themselves, in most of the Antient Kingdoms of the world, as is manifestly to be seen in the History of those times.

B. I pray you cite me some of the Authors and places.

A. First, what were the Druids of old time in *Britany* and *France*, what Authority these had you may see in *Cesar*, *Strabo*, and others, and especially in *Diodorus Siculus*, the greatest Antiquary perhaps that ever was, who speaking of the Druids (which he calls *Sarovides*) in *France*, saith thus; There be also amongst them certain Philosophers and Theologians that are exceedingly honoured, whom they also use as Prophets. These men by their skill in Augury, and Inspection into the Bowels of Beasts sacrificed, foretel what is to come, and have the multitude in obedience to them; and a little after; It is a custom amongst them, that no man may sacrifice without a Philosopher, because (say they) men ought not to present their Thanks to the Gods, but by them that know the Divine Nature, and are as it were of the same Language with them; and that all good things ought by such as these to be prayed for.

B. I can hardly believe that those Druids were very skilful either in Natural Philosophy or Moral.

A. Nor I; for they held and taught the Transmigration of Souls from one Body to another, as did *Pythagoras*, which Opinion, whether they took from him, or he from them, I cannot tell. What were the *Magi* in *Persia* but Philosophers and Astrologers? You know how they came to find our Saviour by the Conduct of a

Star,

Star, either from *Persia* it self, or from some Country more Eastward than *Judea*: were not these in great Authority in their Country? And are they not in most part of Christendom, thought to have been Kings? *Egypt* hath been thought by many the most Antient Kingdom and Nation of the world, and their Priests had the greatest power in Civil Affairs that any Subject ever had in any Nation. And what were they but Philosophers and Divines? Concerning whom the same *Diodorus Siculus* saies thus; The whole Country of *Egypt* being divided into three parts, the Body of the Priests have One as being of most credit with the people, both for their Devotions towards the Gods, and also for their Understanding gotten by Education, and presently after: for generally those men in the greatest Affairs of all the King's Counsellors, partly Executing, and partly Informing and Advising; foretelling him also (by their skill in Astrology and Art in the Inspection of Sacrifices) the things that are to come; and reading to him out of their Holy Books such of the Actions there recorded, as are profitable for him to know. 'Tis not there as in *Greece*, one man, or one woman that has the Priesthood, but they are many that attend the Honours and Sacrifices of the Gods, and leave the same Employment to their posterity, which next to the King have the greatest Power and Authority. Concerning the Judicature amongst the *Agyptians*, he saith thus; From out of the most eminent Cities, *Hieropolis*, *Thebes* and *Memphis*, they chuse Judges, which are Council not inferiour to that of *Areopagus* in *Athens*, or that of the Senate in *Lacedæmon*; when they are met, being in number thirty, they chuse one from among themselves to be Chief Justice; and the City, whereof he is, sendeth another in his place: This Chief Justice wore about his neck, hung in a gold Chain, a Jewel of precious Stones; the name of which Jewel was Truth, which when the Chief Justice had put on, then began the Pleading, &c.

And

And when the Judges had agreed on the Sentence, then did the Chief Justice put this Jewel of Truth on one of the Pleas. You see now what power was acquired in Civil matters by the conjuncture of Philosophy and Divinity: Let us come now to the Common-wealth of the *Jews*; was not the Priesthood in a Family (namely the *Levites*) as well as the Priesthood of *Aegypt*? Did not the High-Priest give Judgment by the Brell-plate of *Urim* and *Thummim*? Look upon the Kingdom of *Affria*, and the Philosophers and *Chaldeans*; had not they Lands and Cities belonging to their Family, even in *Abraham's* time, who dwelt (you know) in *Ur* of the *Chaldeans*? Of these the same Author says thus; The *Chaldeans* are a Sect in Politicks, like to that of the *Aegyptian* Priests; for being ordained for the service of the Gods, they spend the whole time of their life in Philosophy, being of exceeding great reputation in Astrology, and pretending much also to Prophecy, foretelling things to come by Purifications and Sacrifices; and to find out by certain Incantations the preventing of harm, and the bringing to pass of good. They have also skill in Augury, and in the Interpretation of Dreams and Wonders; nor are they unskillful in the Art of Foretelling by the Inwards of Beasts sacrificed, and have their Learning not of the Greeks; for the Philosophy of the *Chaldeans* goes to their Family by Tradition, and the Son receives it from his Father. From *Affria* let us pass into *India*, and see what esteem the Philosophers had there. The whole multitude (says *Diodorus*) of the *Indians*, is divided into seven parts, whereof the first is the Body of the Philosophers, for number the least, but for eminence the first; for they are free from Taxes; and as they are not Masters of others, so are no others Masters of them. By private men they are called to the Sacrifices, and to the care of the Burials of the Dead, as being thought most beloved of the Gods, and skillful in the Doctrine concerning Hell; and for this Employment receive

receive Gifts and Honours very considerable. They are also of great use to the people of *India*, for being taken at the beginning of the year in the great Assembly, they foretell them of great Drouths, great Rains, also of Winds, and of Sickneses, and of whatsoever is profitable for them to know beforehand.

The same Author concerning the Laws of the *Aethiopians*, saith thus, The Laws of the *Aethiopians* seem very different from those of other Nations, and especially about the Election of their Kings; for the Priests propound some of the chief men among them named in a Catalogue: and when the God, (which according to a certain Custom is carried about to Feastings) does accept of him, the Multitude Elect for their King, and presently adore and honour him as a God, put into the Government by Divine Providence. The King being chosen, he has the manner of his life limited to him by the Laws, and does all other things according to the custom of the Country, neither rewarding nor punishing any man otherwise than from the beginning is Establish'd amongst them by Law; nor use they to put any man to death, though he be condemn'd to it, but to send some Officer to him with a Token of Death, who seeing the Token, goes presently to his own house, and kills himself presently after. But the strangest thing of all is that which they do concerning the Death of their Kings. For the Priests that live in *Meroe*, and spend their time about the worship and honour of the Gods, and are in greatest Authority; when they have a mind to it, send a Messenger to the King, to bid him dye, for that the Gods have given such order, and that the Commandments of the Immortals are not by any means to be neglected by those that are by nature Mortal, using also other speeches to him, which men of simple Judgment, that have not reason enough to dispute against those unnecessary commands, as being educated under an old and inflexible custom are content

to admit of; therefore in former times the Kings did obey the Priests, not as mastered by force and Arms, but as having their reason mastered by superstition. But in the time of *Ptolomy the second, Ergamenes*, King of the *Aethiopians*, having had his breeding in Philosophy after the manner of the *Greeks*, being the first that durst dispute their power, took heart as befitting a King; came with Soldiers to a place called *Abaton*, where was then the Golden Temple of the *Aethiopians*; killed all the Priests, abolished the Custom, and rectified the Kingdom according to his will.

*B.* Though they that were kill'd were most damnable Impostors, yet the Act was cruel.

*A.* It was so; but were not the Priests cruel to cause their Kings, whom a little before they adored as Gods, to make away themselves? The King kill'd them for the safety of his person, they him, out of Ambition, or love of Change. The King's Act may be coloured with the good of his People; the Priests had no pretence against their Kings, who were certainly very godly, or else would never have obeyed the command of the Priests by a Messenger unarmed to kill themselves. Our late King, the best King perhaps that ever was (you know) was murdered, having been first persecuted by War at the Incitement of Presbyterian Ministers, who are therefore guilty of the Death of all that fell in that War, which were, I believe, in *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, near one hundred thousand persons. Had it not been much better that those seditious Ministers which were not perhaps a thousand, had been all kill'd before they had Preached? It had been (I confess) a great Massacre; but the killing of a hundred thousand is a greater.

*B.* I am glad the Bishops were out at this business; as ambitious as some say they are, it did not appear in that business; for they were Enemies to them that were in it.

*A.* But



A. But I intend not by these Quotations to commend either the Divinity, nor the Philosophy of those Heathen people, but to shew only what the Reputation of those Sciences can effect among the people: For their Divinity was nothing but Idolatry, and their Philosophy (excepting the knowledge of the *Aegyptian* Priests, and from them the *Chaldeans* had gotten by long Observation and Study in Astronomy, Geometry, and Arithmetick) very little, and that in great part abused in Astrology and Fortune-telling; whereas the Divinity of the Clergy in this Nation (now considered apart from the mixture that has been introduced by the Church of *Rome*, and in part retained here of the babling Philosophy of *Aristotle*, and other Greeks, that has no Affinity with Religion, and serves only to breed Disaffection, Dissention, and finally Sedition and Civil War, as we have lately found by dear experience in the Differences between the Presbyterians and Episcopal) is the true Religion. But for these Differences, both Parties, as they were in Power, not only suppressed the Tenets of one another, but also whatsoever Doctrine look'd with an ill Aspect upon their Interest; and consequently all true Philosophy, especially Civil and Moral, which can never appear propitious to Ambition, or to an Exemption from Obedience due to the Sovereign Power.

After the King had accus'd the Lord *Kimbolton*, a Member of the Lords House, and *Holles*, *Hastle- rig*, *Hampden*, *Prynne*, and *Stroud*, five Members of the Lower House, of High Treason; and after the Parliament had Voted out the Bishops from the House of Peers, they pursued especially two things in their Petitions to His Majesty, the one was, that the King would declare who were the persons that advis'd him to go as he did to

the Parliament-House to apprehend them; and that he would leave them to the Parliament to receive condign punishment; and this they did to stick upon His Majesty the dishonour of Deserting his Friends, and betraying them to his Enemies. The other was, that he would allow a Guard out of the City of *London* to be commanded by the Earl of *Essex*; for which they pretended they could not else sit in safety, which pretence was nothing but an upbraiding of His Majesty for coming to Parliament better accompanied than ordinary, to seize the said five seditious Members.

*B.* I see no reason in petitioning for a Guard, they should determine it to the City of *London* in particular, and the Command by name to the Earl of *Essex*, unless they meant the King should understand it a Guard against himself.

*A.* Their meaning was, that the King should understand it so, and as (I verily believe) they meant he should take it as an affront; and the King himself understanding it so, denied to grant it, though he were willing, if they could not otherwise be satisfied, to command such a Guard to wait upon them, as he would be responsible for to God Almighty. Besides this, the City of *London* petition'd the King (put upon it, no doubt, by some Member of the Lower House) to put the *Tower of London* into the hands of persons of Trust, meaning such as the Parliament should approve of. And so appoint a Guard for the safety of His Majesty and the Parliament. This method of bringing Petitions in a Tumultuary manner by great multitudes of Clamorous people, was ordinary with the House of Commons, whose Ambition could never have been served by way of Prayer and Request, without extraordinary terror.

After the King had waved the prosecution of the five Members, but denied to make known, who had advised Him to come in person to the  
House

House of Commons, they questioned the Attorney-General, who, by the King's command, had Exhibited the Articles against them, and Voted him, *A Breaker of the Priviledge of Parliament*. And no doubt had made him feel their Cruelty, if he had not speedily fled the Land.

About the end of *January*, they made an Order of both Houses of Parliament, to prevent the going over of Popish Commanders into *Ireland*; not so much fearing that, as that by this the King Himself choosing his Commanders for that Service, might aid Himself out of *Ireland* again't the Parliament. But this was no great matter in respect of a Petition they sent His Majesty about the same time, that is to say, about the Twenty seventh, or Twenty eighth of *January*, 1641. wherein they desired, in effect, the absolute Sovereignty of *England*, though by the name of Sovereignty they challeng'd it not, whilst the King was living; for to the end, that the fears and dangers of this Kingdom might be removed, and the mischievous designs of those who are Enemies to the Peace of it, might be prevented, they pray that His Majesty would be pleased to put forthwith,

First, The Tower of *London*.

Secondly, All other Forts.

Thirdly, The whole *Militia* of the Kingdom into the hands of such Persons as should be recommended to him by both the Houses of Parliament.

And this they style a necessary Petition.

*B.* Were there really any such fears and dangers generally conceived here? Or did there appear any Enemies at that time, with such designs as are mentioned in the Petition?

*A.* Yes, but no other fear of danger, but such as discreet and honest men might justly have of the designs of the Parliament it self, who were the greatest Enemies to the Peace of the Kingdom that

could possibly be. 'Tis also worth observing, that this Petition began with these words, *Most Gracious Sovereign*; so stupid they were, as not to know, that he that is Master of the *Militia*, is Master of the Kingdom, and consequently is in possession of a most absolute Sovereignty. The King was now at *Windsor*, to avoid the Tumults of the Common People before the Gates at *Whitehall*, together with the Clamors and an Affronts there the Ninth of *February*; after, he came to *Hampton Court*, and thence went to *Dover* with the Queen, and the Princess of *Orange* his Daughter, where the Queen, with the Princess of *Orange*, embarked for *Holland*, but the King returned to *Greenwich*, whence he sent for the Prince of *Wales* and the Duke of *York*, and so went with them towards *York*.

B. Did the Lor's join with the Commons in this Petition for the *Militia*.

A. It appears so by the Title, but I believe they durst not but do it; the House of Commons took them but for a Cypher, Men of Title onely, without real Power; but they were very much mistaken; For the House of Commons never intended they should be sharers in it.

B. What Answer made the King to this Petition?

A. That when He shall know the Extent of Power which is intended to be established in those persons, whom they desire to be the Commanders of the *Militia* in the several Counties, and likewise to what time it shall be limited; that no Power shall be Executed by His Majesty alone, without the advice of Parliament, then he will declare that (for the securing them from all Dangers or Jealousies of any) then His Majesty will be content to put into all the places, both Forts and *Militia* in the several Counties. such persons as both the Houses of Parliament shall either approve, or recommend unto him, so that they declare before unto His Majesty, the names of the persons whom they approve

## Civil Wars of England. 101

approve or recommend, unless such persons shall be nam'd, against whom he shall have just and unquestionable Exceptions.

*B.* What Power? For what Time? And to whom did the Parliament grant concerning the *Militia*?

*A.* The same Power which the King had before planted in his Lieutenants, and his Deputy-Lieutenants in the several Counties, and without other limitation of time, but their own pleasure.

*B.* Who were the Men that had this Power?

*A.* There is a Catalogue of them Printed, they are very many, and most of them Lords; nor is it necessary to have them nam'd, for to name them, is (in my opinion) to brand them with the mark of Disloyalty, or of Folly. When they had made a Catalogue of them, they sent it to the King, with a new Petition for the *Militia*.

Also presently after they sent a Message to His Majesty, praying Him to leave the Prince at *Hampton Court*; but the King granted neither.

*B.* Howsoever it was well done of them to get Hostages (if they could) of the King, before He went from them.

*A.* In the mean time to raise Money, for the reducing of *Ireland*, the Parliament invited Men to bring in Money by way of Adventure, according to these Propositions.

First, That two Millions, and five hundred thousand Acres of Land in *Ireland*, should be assigned to the Adventurers, in this proportion.

For an Adventure of	{	200 l. — 1000 Acres in <i>Ulster</i> .
		300 l. — 1000 Acres in <i>Conaught</i> .
		450 l. — 1000 Acres in <i>Munster</i> .
		600 l. — 1000 Acres in <i>Leinster</i> .

All according to English Measure, and consisting of Meadow, arable and profitable Pasture; Bogs, Woods, and Barren Mountains, being cast in over and above.

Secondly, A Revenue was reserv'd to the Crown, from 1 d. to 3 d. on every Acre.

Thirdly, That Commissions should be sent by the Parliament, to erect Mannors, settle Wastes and Commons, maintain preaching Ministers, to create Corporations, and to regulate Plantations. The rest of the Propositions concern only the times and manner of payment of the Sums subscribed by the Adventurers; and to those Propositions His Majesty assented, but to the Petition for the *Militia*, His Majesty denied His Assent.

B. If He had not, I should have thought it, a great Wonder. What did the Parliament after this?

A. They sent Him another Petition, which was presented to Him when He was at *Theobalds*, in his way to *Torſe*; wherein they tell him plainly, *That unless He be pleased to assure them by those Messengers then sent, that He would speedily apply His Royal Assent to the satisfaction of their former Desires, they shall be forc'd, for the Safety of his Majesty and his Kingdoms, to dispose of the Militia by the Authority of both Houses, &c.*

They Petition'd His Majesty also, to let the Prince stay at *St. James's*, or some other of His Majesties Houses near *London*. They tell him also, *That the Power of Raising, Ordering and Dissolving of the Militia, cannot be granted to any Corporation, without the Authority and Consent of Parliament. And those Parts of the Kingdom, that have put themselves into a posture of Defence, have done nothing therein, but by direction of both Houses, and what is justifiable by the Laws of this Kingdom.*

B. What Answer made the King to this?

A. It was a putting of themselves into Arms, and under Officers, such as the Parliament should approve of.

Fourthly, They Voted that His Majesty should be again desir'd, that the Prince might continue about *London*.

Lastly, They Voted a Declaration to be sent to His Majesty

## Civil Wars of England. 103

Majesty by both the Houses, wherein they accuse His Majesty of a design of altering Religion, though not directly Him, but them that counsel'd Him; whom they also accus'd of being the Inviters and Fomenters of the *Scots* War, and Framers of the Rebellion in *Ireland*. And upbraids the King again, for accusing the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the Five Members; and of being privy to the purpose of bringing up His Army, which was rais'd against the *Scots*, to be employ'd against the Parliament. To which His Majesty replied from *Newmarket*.

Whereupon it was Resolv'd by both Houses, *That in this Case of extream Danger, and of His Majesties Refusal, the Ordinance agreed upon by both Houses, for the Militia, doth oblige the People by the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom. And also that whosoever should execute any Power over the Militia, by colour of any Commission of Lieutenancy, without Consent of both Houses of Parliament, shall be accounted a Disturber of the Peace of the Kingdom.*

Whereupon His Majesty sent a Message to both Houses from *Huntingdon*, *Requiring Obedience to the Laws Established, and Prohibiting all Subjects, upon pretence of their Ordinance, to Execute any thing concerning the Militia, which is not by those Laws warranted.*

Upon this the Parliament Vote a standing to their former Votes; as also, *That when the Lords and Commons in Parliament, which is the Supreme Court of Judicature in the Kingdom, shall declare what the Law of the Land is, to have this not only questioned, but contradicted, is a high Breach of the Priviledge of Parliament.*

B. I thought that he that makes the Law, ought to declare what the Law is; for what is it else to make a Law, but to declare what it is; so that they have taken from the King not only the *Militia*, but also the Legislative Power.

A. They have so. But I make account the Legislative Power (and indeed all Power possible) is contain'd in the Power of the *Militia*.

After this they seize such Money as was due to His Majesty upon the Bill of Tunnage and Poundage, and upon the Bill of Subsidies, that they might disable him every way they possibly coukl. They sent Him also many other contumelious Messages and Petitions after His coming to York, amongst which one was, *That whereas the Lord Admiral, by indisposition of Body, could not command the Fleet in Person, He would be pleased to give Authority to the Earl of Warwick to supply his place;* When they knew the King had put Sir John Penington in it before.

B. To what End did the King entertain so many Petitions, Messages, Declarations, and Remonstrances, and vouchsafe His Answers to them, when He could not choose but clearly see they were resolv'd to take from Him His Royal Power, and consequently His Life? For it could not stand with their safety, to let either Him or His Issue live, after they had done Him so great Injuries.

A. Besides this, the Parliament had at the same time a Committee residing at York, to spy what His Majesty did, and to inform the Parliament thereof; and also to hinder the King from gaining the People of that County to His Party: so that when His Majesty was Courting the Gentlemen there, the Committee was Inflammatory of the Yeomanry against Him; to which also the Ministers did very much contribute, so that the King lost His opportunity at York.

B. Why did not the King seize the Committee into His hands, or drive them out of His Town.

A. I know not; but I believe, He knew the Parliament had a greater Party than He, not only in Yorkshire, but also in York.

Towards the End of April the King, upon Petition of the People of Yorkshire, to have the Magazine of *Ball* to remain still there, for the greater security of the Northern Parts, thought fit to take it into his own hands. He had a little before appointed Governor of the



the Town the Earl of *Newcastle*, but the Townsmen having been already corrupted by the Parliament, refused to receive him, but refus'd not to receive Sir *John Horbam*, appointed to be Governor by the Parliament. The King therefore coming before the Town, Guarded only by a few of His own Servants, and a few Gentlemen of the Country thereabouts, was deny'd Entrance by Sir *John Horbam* that stood upon the Wall; for which Act, he presently caused Sir *John Horbam* to be Proclaim'd Traytor, and sent a Message to the Parliament, requiring Justice to be done upon the said *Horbam*, and that the Town and Magazine might be delivered into His hands.

To which the Parliament made no Answer, but instead thereof published another Declaration, in which they omitted nothing of their former Slanders against His Majesties Government, but inserted certain Propositions declarative of their own pretended Right, viz.

I. *That whatsoever they declare to be Law, ought not to be questioned by the King.*

II. *That no Precedent can be Limits to bound their Proceedings.*

III. *That a Parliament, for the Public Good, may dispose of any thing wherein the King or Subject hath a Right; and that they, without the King, are this Parliament, and the Judge of this Public Good, and that the King's consent is not necessary.*

IV. *That no Member of either House ought to be troubled for Treason, Felony, or any other Crime, unless the Cause be first brought before the Parliament, that they may judge of the Fact, and give leave to proceed, if they see Cause.*

V. *That the Sovereign Power resides in both Houses, and that the King ought to have no Negative Voice.*

**VI.** That the Levying of Forces against the Personal Commands of the King, (though accompanied with his presence) is not Levying War against the King, but the Levying of War against his Politic Person, viz. his Laws, &c.

**VII.** That Treason cannot be committed against his Person, otherwise than as he is intrusted with the Kingdom, and discharges that Trust; and that they have a Power to judge, whether he hath discharged his Trust, or not.

**VIII.** That they may dispose of the King when they will.

**B.** This is plain-dealing, and without hypocrisie; Could the City of London swallow this?

**A.** Yes, and more too, if need be; London (you know) has a great Belly, but no palate nor taste of Right and Wrong.

In the Parliament Roll of Henry IV. amongst the Articles of the Oath the King at his Coronation took, there is one runs thus.

*Concedes Justas Leges & Consuetudines esse tenendas, & promittes per te eas esse protegendas, & ad honorem Dei corroborandas quas Vulgas elegerit.*

Which the Parliament urged for their Legislative Authority, and therefore interpret *quas Vulgas elegerit*, which the People shall choose; as if the King should swear to protect and corroborate Laws before they were made, whether they be Good or Bad: whereas the words signify no more, but that he shall protect and corroborate such Laws, as they have chosen; that is to say, the Acts of Parliament then in being.

And in the Records of the Exchequer it is thus  
Will yeas grant to hold and keep the Laws, and rightfull  
Customs,

*Customs, which the Commonalty of this your Kingdom have? And will you defend and uphold them, &c?*

And this was the Answer His Majesty made to that Point.

B. I think His Answer very full and clear.; but if the words were to be interpreted in the other sence, yet I see no reason why the King should be bound to swear to them; for *Henry IV.* came to the Crown by the Votes of a Parliament, not much inferior in wickedness to this Long Parliament, that Deposed and Murdered their Lawful King, saving that it was not the Parliament it self, but the Usurper that murdered King *Richard II.*

A. About a week after, in the beginning of *May*, the Parliament sent the King another Paper, which they stil'd, *The Humble Petition and Advice of both Houses: Containing Nineteen Propositions*, which when you shall hear, you shall be able to judge what Power they meant to leave to the King, more than to any of His Subjects. The first of them is this:

I. *That the Lords, and other of His Majesties Privy Council; and all great Officers of State both at home and abroad, be put from their Employments, and from his Council, save only such as should be approved of by both Houses of Parliament; and none put into their places, but by approbation of the said Houses. And that all Privy Counsellors take an Oath for the due Execution of their places, in such form as shall be agreed upon by the said Houses.*

II. *That the great Affairs of the Kingdom be Debated, Resolv'd and Transacted only in Parliament; and such as shall presume to do any thing to the contrary. so be reserved to the Censure of the Parliament; and such other Matters of State as are proper for His Majesties Privy Council, shall be Debated and Concluded by such as shall from time to time be chosen for that place by both Houses of Par.*

Parliament. And that no Publick Act concerning the Affairs of the Kingdom which are proper for his Privy Council, be esteemed valid, as proceeding from the Royal Authority, unless it be done by the Advice and Consent of the Major part of the Council, attested under their Hands; and that the Council be not more than 25, nor less than 15; and that when a Counsellors place falls, it shall not be supplied, without the assent of the Major part of the Council; and that such choice also shall be void, if the next Parliament after confirm it not.

III. That the Lord High Steward of England, Lord High Constable, Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, Lord Treasurer, Lord Privy Seal, Earl Marshal, Lord Admiral, Warden of the Cinque Ports, chief Governor of Ireland, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Master of the Wards, Secretaries of State, Two chief Justices, and Chief Baron, be always chosen with the Approbation of both Houses of Parliament; and in the Intervals of Parliament, by the Major part of the Privy Council.

IV. That the Government of the King's Children shall be committed to such as both Houses shall approve of; and in the Intervals of Parliament, such as the Privy Council shall approve of, that the Servants then about them, against whom the Houses have just exception, should be remov'd.

V. That no Marriage be concluded, or treated of, for any of the King's Children, without consent of Parliament.

VI. That the Laws in force against the Jesuits, Priests, and Popish Recusants, be strictly put in execution.

VII. That the Votes of Popish Lords in the House of Peers be taken away; and that a Bill be passed for the Education of the Children of Papists in the Protestant Religion.

## Civil Wars of England. 109

VIII. That the King will be pleas'd to reform the Church-Government and Liturgy, in such manner as both Houses of Parliament shall advise.

IX. That he would be pleased to rest satisfied with that course, the Lords and Commons have appointed for ordering the Militia, and recall his Declarations and Proclamations against it.

X. That such Members as have been put out of any Place or Office since this Parliament began, may be restor'd, or have satisfaction.

XI. That all Privy Counsellors and Judges take an Oath, the Form whereof shall be agreed on, and sealed by Act of Parliament, for the maintaining the Petition of Right, and of certain Statutes made by the Parliament.

XII. That all the Judges and Officers placed by Approbation of both Houses of Parliament, may hold their places quamdiu bene se gesserint.

XIII. That the Justice of Parliament may pass upon all Delinquents, whether they be within the Kingdom, or fled out of it; and that all persons cited by either House of Parliament, may appear and abide the Censure of Parliament.

XIV. That the General Pardon offered by his Majesty, be granted with such Exceptions as shall be advised by both Houses of Parliament.

B. What a spiteful Article is this? All the rest proceeded from Ambition, which many times well-natur'd men are subject to; but this proceeded from an inhumane and devilish cruelty.

A. XV.

*A. XV. That the Forts and Castles be put under the Command of such Persons, as with the Approbation of the Parliament the King shall appoint.*

*XVI. That the extraordinary Guards about the King be discharged, and for the future none raised but according to the Law, in case of actual Rebellion or Invasion.*

*B. Methinks these very Propositions sent to the King, are an actual Rebellion.*

*A. XVII. That his Majesty enter into a more strict Alliance with the United Provinces, and other Neighbour Protestant Princes and States.*

*XVIII. That his Majesty be pleased, by Act of Parliament, to clear the Lord Kimbolton, and the Five Members of the House of Commons, in such manner, as that future Parliaments may be secur'd from the consequence of evil Precedent.*

*XIX. That his Majesty be pleased to pass a Bill for restraining Peers, made hereafter from sitting or voting in Parliament, unless they be admitted with consent of both Houses of Parliament. These Propositions granted, they promise to apply themselves to regulate his Majesties Revenue to his best advantage, and to settle it to the support of his Royal Dignity, in Honour and Plenty; and also to put the Town of Hull into such hands as his Majesty shall appoint, with consent of Parliament.*

*B. Is not that to put it into such hands as His Majesty shall appoint by the consent of the Petitioners, which is no more than to keep it in their hands, as it is? Did they want, or think the King wanted common sense, so*

as not to perceive that their promise herein was worth nothing?

A. After the sending of these Propositions to the King, and His Majesties refusal to grant them, they began on both sides to prepare for War, the King raising a Guard for his Person in *York-shire*, and the Parliament thereupon having Voted, *That the King intended to make War upon his Parliament*, gave Order for the Mustering and Exercising the People in Arms, and published Propositions to Invite and Encourage them to bring in either ready Money or Plate, or to promise under their hands to maintain certain numbers of Horse, Horsemen, and Arms, for the Defence of the King and Parliament, (meaning by King, as they had formerly declar'd, not his Person, but his Laws) promising to repay their Money with Interest of Eight Pound in the Hundred, and the Value of their Plate with Twelve Pence the Ounce for the Fashion. On the other side, the King came to *Nottingham*, and there did set up his Standard Royal, and sent out Commissioners of Array to call those to him, which by the ancient Laws of *England* were bound to serve in the Wars. Upon this occasion there passed divers Declarations between the King and Parliament, concerning the Legality of this Array, which are too long to tell you at this time.

B. Nor do I desire to hear any Mooting about this Question, for I think that general Law of *Salus Populi*, and the Right of defending himself against those that had taken from him the Sovereign Power, are sufficient to make Legal whatsoever he should do, in order to the recovery of his Kingdom, or the punishing of the Rebels.

A. In the mean time the Parliament raised an Army, and made the Earl of *Essex* General thereof; by which Act they declar'd what they meant formerly, when they Petition'd the King for a Guard,  
to

to be Commanded by the said Earl of *Essex*. And now the King sends out his Proclamations, forbidding Obedience to the Orders of the Parliament concerning the Militia; and the Parliament send out Orders against the Executions of the Commissions of Array; hitherto (though it were a War before) yet there was no Blood shed, they shot at one another nothing but Paper.

*B.* I understand now how the Parliament destroy'd the Peace of the Kingdom, and how easily, by the help of Seditious *Presbyterian* Ministers, and of ambitious ignorant Orators, they reduced the Government into Anarchy: but I believe it will be a harder task for them to bring in Peace again, and settle the Government either in themselves, or in any other Governor, or form of Government; for granting that they obtain the Victory in this War, they must be beholding for it to the Valor, good Conduct, or Felicity of those to whom they give the Command of their Armies, especially to the General, whose good success will, without doubt, bring with it the love and admiration of the Soldiers, so that it will be in his power either to take the Government upon himself, or to place it where himself thinks good. In which Case, if he take it not to himself, he will be thought a Fool; and if he do, he shall be sure to have the Envy of his subordinate Commanders, who will look for a share either in the present Government, or in the Succession to it; for they will say, Has he obtain'd this Power by his own without our Danger, Valor, and Council? And must we be his Slaves, whom we have thus rais'd? Or is not there as much Justice on our side against him, as was on his side against the King?

*A.* They will and did, inasmuch that the reason why *Cromwel*, after he had gotten into his own hands the absolute Power of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; by the Name of *Protector*, did never dare to take upon him the Title of King, nor was ever able to settle it upon  
his



## Civil Wars of England. 113

his Children, his Officers would not suffer it, as pretending after his death to succeed him; nor would the Army consent to it, because he had ever declared to them against the Government of a Single Person.

*B.* But to return to the King, What Means had he to pay? What Provision had he to Arm, may Means to Levy an Army, able to resist the Army of the Parliament, maintained by the great Purse of the City of *London*, and Contributions of almost all the Towns Corporate in *England*, and furnished with Arms as fully as they could require?

*A.* 'Tis true, the King had great disadvantages, and yet by little and little he got a considerable Army, with which he so prospered, as to grow stronger every day, and the Parliament weaker, till they had gotten the *Scots* with an Army of 21000 Men to come into *England* to their assistance; but to enter into the particular Narrative of what was done in the War, I have not now time.

*B.* Well then, we will talk of that at next meeting.

---

*B.* We

B. **V**VE left at the Preparations on both sides for War, which when I considered by my self, I was mightily puzzled to find out what possibility there was for the King to equal the Parliament in such a course, and what hopes He had of Money, Men, Arms, Fortified Places, Shipping, Council, and Military Offices, sufficient for such an Enterprize against the Parliament, that had Men and Money as much at Command, as the City of *London*, and other Corporation Towns were able to furnish, which was more than they needed. And for the Men they should set forth for Soldiers, they were almost all of them spitefully bent against the King, and his whole Party, whom they took to be either Papists, or Flatterers of the King, or that had design'd to raise their Fortunes by the Plunder of the City, and other Corporation Towns; and though I believe not that they were more valiant than other Men, nor that they had so much Experience in the War, as to be accounted good Soldiers; yet they had that in them, which in time of Battle is more conducing to Victory than Valor, and Experience both together, and that was Spight.

And for Arms, they had in their hands the chief Magazines, the Tower of *London*, and *Kington* upon *Hill*, besides most of the Powder and Shot that lay in several Towns, for the use of the Trained Bands.

Fortified places there were not many then in *England*, and most of them in the hands of the Parliament.

The King's Fleet was wholly in their Command, under the Earl of *Warwick*; Counsellors they needed no more, than such as were of their own Body, so that the King was every way inferior to them, except it were perhaps in Officers.

A. I cannot compare their chief Officers for the Parliament. The Earl of *Essex* (after the Parliament had Voted the War) was made General of all their Forces, both in *England* and *Ireland*, from whom, all other Commanders were to receive their Commissions.

B. What moved them to make the Earl of *Essex* General? And for what cause was the Earl of *Essex* so displeased with the King, as to accept that Office?

A. I do not certainly know what to answer to either of those Questions, but the Earl of *Essex* had been in the Wars abroad, and wanted neither Experience, Judgment nor Courage to perform such an undertaking; and besides that, you have heard, (I believe) how great a Darling of the People his Father had been before him; and what Honour he had gotten by the success of his Enterprize upon *Cales*, and in some other Military Actions.

To which I may add, That this Earl himself was not held by the People to be so great a Favourite at Court, as that they might not trust him with their Army against the King, and by this you may perhaps conjecture the cause for which the Parliament made choice of him for General.

B. But why did they think him discontented with the Court?

A. I know not that, nor indeed that he was so; he came to Court as other Noblemen did, when occasion was to wait upon the King, but had no Office till a little before this time, to oblige him to be there continually; but I believe verily, that the unfortunateness of his Marriage, had so discountenanced his Conversation with Ladies, that the Court could not be his proper Element, unless he had had some extraordinary favour there, to balance that calamity. For particular discontent from the King, or intention of revenge for any supposed disgrace, I think he had none; nor that he was any ways addicted to *Presbyterian* Doctrines.

Doctrines, or other Phanatic Tenets in Church or State, saying only that he was carried away with the stream (in a manner) of the whole Nation, to think that *England* was not an absolute, but a mixt Monarchy, not considering that the Supreme Power must always be absolute, whether it be in the King, or in the Parliament.

**B.** Who was General of the King's Army?

**A.** None yet but Himself, nor indeed had He yet any Army; but there coming to him at that time two Nephews, the Princes *Rupert* and *Maurice*, He put the Command of His Horse into the hands of Prince *Rupert*, a man than whom no man living has a better courage, nor was more active and diligent in prosecuting his Commission; and though but a young man then, was not without experience in the conducting of Soldiers, as having been an Actor in part of his Father's Wars in *Germany*.

**B.** But how could the King find Money to pay such an Army as was necessary for Him, against the Parliament?

**A.** Neither the King nor Parliament had much Money at that time in their own hands, but were fain to rely upon the Benevolence of those that took their parts, wherein (I confess) the Parliament had a mighty great advantage. Those that helped the King in that kind, were only Lords and Gentlemen, which not approving the proceedings of the Parliament, were willing to undertake the payment every one of a certain number of Horse, which cannot be thought any very great assistance, the persons that paid them being so few; for other Moneys that the King then had, I have not heard of any but what he borrow'd upon Jewels in the *Low-Countries*; whereas the Parliament had a very plentiful Contribution, not only from *London*, but generally from their Faction in all other places of *England*, upon certain Propositions, (published by the Lords and Commons in *June*, 1642. at which time they had newly Voted, That the King intended to make War

War upon them) for bringing in of Money or Plate, to maintain Horse and Horse-men, and to buy Arms for the preservation of the public Peace, and for the defence of the King, and both Houses of Parliament; for the Repaying of which Money and Plate, they were to have the *Public Faith*.

*B.* What *Public Faith* is there, when there is no *Public*? What is it that can be call'd *Public*, in a Civil War, without the King?

*A.* The truth is, the Security was nothing worth, but serv'd well enough to gull those seditious Block-heads that were more fond of change, than either of their peace or profit; having by this means gotten Contributions from those that were the well-affected to their Cause, they made use of it afterwards, to force the like Contribution from others; for in *November* following, they made an Ordinance for Assessing also of those that had not contributed then, or had contributed, but not proportionably to their Estates. And yet this was contrary to what the Parliament promised and declared in the Propositions themselves; for they declared in the first Proposition, *That no man's Affection should be measured by the proportion of his Offer, so that he expressed his good will to the Service in any proportion whatsoever.*

Besides this, in the beginning of *March* following, they made an Ordinance to Levy weekly a great Sum of Money upon every County, City, Town, Place, and Person of any Estate almost in *England*; which weekly Sum (as may appear by the Ordinance it self, printed and published in *March*, 1642, by Order of both Houses) comes to almost 33000 *l.* and consequently to above 1700000 *l.* for the year. They had, besides all this, the profits of the King's Lands and Woods, and whatsoever was remaining unpaid of any Subsidy formerly granted Him, and the Tunnage and Poundage usually received by the King, besides the profit of the Sequestration of great persons, whom they pleas'd to Vote Delinquents, and the profits of the Bishops Lands,  
which

which they took to themselves a year, or a little more after.

*B.* Seeing then the Parliament had such advantage of the King in Money, Arms, and multitude of Men, and had in their hands the King's Fleet, I cannot imagin what hope the King could have either of Victory (unless He resign'd into their hands the Sovereignty, or subsisting;) for I cannot well believe he had any advantage of them, either in Counsellors, Conducts, or in the Resolution of his Soldiers.

*A.* On the contrary, I think he had also some disadvantage in that; for though he had as good Officers at least as any then serv'd the Parliaments, yet I doubt he had not so useful Council as was necessary. And for his Soldiers, though they were men as stout as theirs, yet because their valour was not sharpened so with Malice, as theirs was of the other side, they fought not so keenly as their Enemies did, amongst whom there was a great many *London* Apprentices, who, for want of experience in the War, would have been fearful enough of death and wounds approaching visibly in glittering Swords, but for want of judgment scarce thought of such a death as comes invisibly in a Bullet, and therefore were very hardly to be driven out of the Field.

*B.* But what fault do you find in the King's Councils, Lords, and other Persons of Quality and Experience?

*A.* Only that fault which was generally in the whole Nation, which was, That they thought the Government of *England* was not an absolute, but a mixt Monarchy; and that if the King should clearly subdue this Parliament, that his Power would be what he pleased, and theirs as little as he pleased, which they counted Tyranny. This opinion, though it did not lessen their endeavours to gain the Victory for the King in a Battel, when the Battel could not be avoided, yet it weakened their endeavours to procure him an absolute Victory in the Wars. And for this cause, notwithstanding that they saw that the Parliament was firmly resolv'd to  
take

take all Kingly Power whatsoever out of His Hands, yet their Council to the King was upon all occasions to offer Propositions to them of Treaty and Accommodation, and to make and publish Declarations which any Man might easily have foreseen would be fruitless; and not only so, but also of great disadvantage to those Actions by which the King was to recover His Crown, and preserve His Life; for it took off the courage of the best and forwardest of his Soldiers that look'd for great benefit out of the Estates of the Rebels, in case they could subdue them, but none at all if the business should be ended by a Treaty.

B. And they had reason, for a Civil War never ends by Treaty, without the Sacrifice of those, who were on both sides sharpest. You know well enough how things past after the Reconciliation of *Augustus* and *Antonius* in *Rome*. But I thought that after they once began to Levy Soldiers one against another, that they would not any more have return'd of either side to Declarations, or other Paper War, which if it could have done any good, would have done it long before this.

A. But seeing the Parliament continued writing, and set forth their Declarations to the People against the Lawfulness of the King's Commission of Array, and sent Petitions to the King as fierce and rebellious as ever they had done before, demanding of him, That he would disband his Soldiers, and come up to the Parliament, and leave those whom the Parliament called Delinquents (which were none but the King's best Subjects) to their Mercy, and pass such Bills as they should advise Him. Would you not have the King set forth Declarations and Proclamations against the Illegality of their Ordinances, by which they Levied Soldiers against him, and answer those insolent Petitions of theirs?

B. No, it had done him no good before, and therefore was not likely to do him any afterwards; for the Common People, whose hands were to decide the Con-

troverſie, underſtood not the Reaſons of either Party; and for thoſe that by Ambition were once ſet upon the Enterprize of changing the Government, they cared not much what was Reaſon and Juſtice, in the Cauſe, but what Strength they might procure, by reducing the multitude, with Remonſtrances from the Parliament-Houſe, or by Sermons in the Churches; and to their Petitions, I would not have had any answer at all more than this, That if they would diſband their Army, and put themſelves upon his Mercy, they ſhould find Him more Gracious than they expected.

*A.* That had been a gallant answer indeed, if it had proceeded from Him after ſome extraordinary great Victory in Battel, or ſome extraordinary aſſurance of a Victory at laſt in the whole War.

*B.* Why, what could have hapned to Him worſe, than at length He ſuffered, notwithstanding His gentle answer, and all His reaſonable Declarations?

*A.* Nothing; but, who knew that?

*B.* Any Man might ſee, that He was never like to be reſtor'd to His Right without Victory, and ſuch His Statutes being known to the People, would have brought to His aſſiſtance many more hands, than all the arguments of Law, or force of Eloquence, couched in Declarations, and other Writings, could have done by far; and I wonder what kind of Men they were, that hindered the King from taking this Reſolution.

*A.* You may know by the Declarations themſelves, which are very long, and full of Quotations of Records, and of Caſes formerly Reported, that the Penners of them were either Lawyers by Profeſſion, or ſuch Gentlemen as had the ambition to be thought ſo. Beſides, I told you before, that thoſe which were then likeliſt to have their counſel asked in this buſineſs, were averſe to abſolute Monarchy, as alſo to abſolute Democracy, or Ariſtocracy; all which Governments they eſteemed Tyranny, and were in love with Monarchy, which they uſ'd to praiſe by the name of mixt  
Monarchy,



Monarchy, though it were indeed nothing else but pure Anarchy: and those Men whose Pens the King most us'd in these Controversies of Law, and Politics, were such (if I have not been misinformed) as having been Members of this Parliament, had declaim'd against Ship-money, and other Extra-Parliamentary Taxes, as much as any: but when they saw the Parliament grow higher in their demands, than they thought they would have done, went over to the King's Party.

*B.* Who were those?

*A.* It is not necessary to name any Man, seeing I have undertaken only a short Narration of the Follies and other Faults of Men during this trouble, but not (by naming of persons) to give you or any man else occasion to esteem them the less, now the faults on all sides have been forgiven.

*B.* When the Business was brought to this height, by levying of Soldiers, and seizing on the Navy, Arms, and other Provisions on both sides, that no Man was so blind, as not to see they were in an estate of War one against another, why did not the King (by Proclamation or Message) according to his undoubted Right, Dissolve the Parliament, and thereby diminish in some part the Authority of their Levies, and of other their unjust Ordinances?

*A.* You have forgotten that I told you that the King Himself, by a Bill that He passed at the same time when He passed the Bill for the Execution of the Earl of *Strafford*, had given them Authority to hold the Parliament, till they should by consent of both Houses dissolve themselves: If therefore He had by any Proclamation or Message to the Houses dissolv'd them, they would, to their former Defamations of His Majesties actions, have added this, That He was a Breaker of his Word, and not only in Contempt of Him, have continued their Session, but also have made advantage of it, to the increase and strengthening of their own Party.

**B.** Would not the King's raising of an Army against them, be interpreted as a purpose to dissolve them by force? And was it not as great a breach of promise to scatter them by force, as to dissolve them by Proclamation? Besides, I cannot conceive that the passing of that Act was otherwise intended than conditionally, so long as they should not ordain any thing contrary to the Sovereign Right of the King, which condition they had already by many of their Ordinances broken; and, I think, that even by the Law of Equity, which is the unalterable Law of Nature, a man that has the Sovereign Power cannot, if he would, give away the right of any thing which is necessary for him to retain for the good Government of his Subjects, unless he do it in express words, saying, *That he will have the Sovereign Power no longer*; for the giving away that which by consequence only draws the Sovereignty along with it, is not (I think) a giving away of the Sovereignty, but an error, such as works nothing but an invalidity in the Grant it self. And such was the King's passing this Bill, for the continuing of the Parliament, as long as the Two Houses pleas'd. But now that the War was resolv'd on, on both sides, what needed any more dispute in writings?

**A.** I know not what need they had, but on both sides they thought it needful to hinder one another as much as they could from levying of Soldiers, and therefore the King did set forth Declarations in Print, to make the people know that they ought not to obey the Officers of the new *Militia* set up by the Ordinance of Parliament, and also to let them see the Legality of His own Commissions of Array; and the Parliament on their part did the like, to justify to the people the said Ordinance, and to make the Commission of Array appear unlawful.

**B.** When the Parliament were Levying of Soldiers, was it not lawful for the King to Levy Soldiers, to defend Himself and His Right, though there had been

no other Title for it, but His own preservation, and that the name of Commission of Array had never been heard of?

*A.* For my part, I think there cannot be a better Title for War, than the defence of a Man's own Right, but the People at that time thought nothing lawful for the King to do, for which there was not some Statute made by Parliament. For the Lawyers, I mean the Judges of the Courts of *Westminster*, and some few others, though but Advocates, yet of great Reputation for their skill in the Common Laws and Statutes of *England*, had infected most of the Gentry of *England* with their Maxims and Cases prejudg'd, which they call Precedents, and made them think so well of their own knowledge in the Law, that they were glad of this occasion to shew it against the King, and thereby to gain a Reputation with the Parliament, of being good Patriots, and wise Statesmen.

*B.* What was this Commission of Array?

*A.* King *William* the Conqueror had gotten into his hands by Victory, all the Lands in *England*, of which he disposed some part, as Forests and Chaces for his own Recreation, and some part to Lords and Gentlemen, that had assisted him, or were to assist him in the Wars; upon which he laid a charge of service in his Wars, some with more Men, and some with less, according to the Lands he had given them; whereby, when the King sent Men unto them with Commission to make use of their Service, they were obliged to appear with Arms, and to accompany the King to the Wars, for a certain time at their own Charges, and such were the Commissions by which this King did then make his Levies.

*B.* Why then was it not Legal?

*A.* No doubt but it was Legal, but what did that amount to with Men that were already resolv'd to acknowledge for Law, nothing that was against their

design of abolishing Monarchy, and placing a sovereign and absolute Arbitrary Power in the House of Commons.

*B.* To destroy Monarchy, and set up the House of Commons, are two Businesses.

*A.* They found it so at last, but did not think it so then.

*B.* Let us come now to the Military power.

*A.* I intended only the Story of their Injustice, Impudence and Hypocrisie; therefore for the proceeding of the War, I refer you to the History thereof, written at large in *English*.

I shall only make use of such a Thread as is necessary for the filling up of such Knavery and Folly also, as I shall observe in their several Actions.

From *York* the King went to *Hull*, where was His Magazine of Arms for the Northern Parts of *England*, to try if they would admit Him; the Parliament had made Sir *John Holbarn* Governor of the Town, who caused the Gates to be shut, and presenting himself upon the walls, flatly denied Him entrance; for which the King caused him to be proclaim'd Traytor, and sent a Message to the Parliament, to know if they own'd the Actions?

*B.* Upon what grounds?

*A.* Their pretence was this. That neither this, nor any other Town in *England* was otherwise the King's, than in Trust for the People of *England*.

*B.* But what was that to the Parliament.

*A.* Yes, say they, for we are the Representative of the People of *England*.

*B.* I cannot see the force of this Argument: We represent the People: *Ergo*, all that the People has is ours. The Mayor of *Hull* did represent the King, Is therefore all the King had in *Hull* the Mayor's? The People of *England* may be represented with Limitations, as to deliver a Petition, or the like, does it follow, that they who deliver the Petition, have Right to

to all the Towns in *England*? When began this Parliament to be a Representative of *England*? Was it *November 3. 1640*? Who was it the day before that had the Right to keep the King out of *Hull*, and possess it for themselves? For there was then no Parliament, whose was *Hull* then?

A. I think it was the King's; not only because it was called the King's Town upon *Hill*, but because the King Himself did then and ever represent the Person of the People of *England*. If He did not, who then did, the Parliament having no Being?

B. They might perhaps say, the People had then no Representative.

A. Then there was no Commonwealth, and consequently all the Towns of *England* being the Peoples, you and I, and any Man else, might have put in for his share. You may see by this, what weak People they were, that were carried into the Rebellion, by such weak reasonings as this Parliament used; and how impudent they were, that did put such Fallacies upon them.

B. Surely they were such, as were esteem'd the wisest Men in *England*, being upon that account chosen to be the Parliament.

A. And were they also esteem'd the wisest Men of *England*, that chose them?

B. I cannot tell that; for I know it is usual with the Freeholders in the Counties, and the Tradesmen in the Cities and Burroughs, to choose, as near as they can, such as are most repugnant to the giving of Subsidies.

A. The King in the beginning of *August*, after He had summon'd *Hull*, and tried some of the Counties thereabout, what they would do for Him, set up His Standard at *Nottingham*, but there came not in thither Men enow to make an Army sufficient to give Battel to the Earl of *Essex*.

From thence He went to *Shrewsbury*, where He was quickly furnished; and appointing the Earl of *Lindsey* to be General, He resolv'd to march towards *London*.

The Earl of *Effex* was at *Worcester* with the Parliament Army, making no offer to stop Him in His passage, but as soon as He was gone by, marched close after him.

The King therefore, to avoid being inclosed between the Army of the Earl of *Effex*, and the City of *London*, turned upon him, and gave him Battel at *Edge-hill*; where, though he got not an intire Victory, yet he had the better, if either had the better; and had certainly the fruit of a Victory, which was to march on, in his intended way towards *London*, in which the next morning he took *Banbury* Castle, and from thence went to *Oxford*, and thence to *Brentford*, where he gave a great Defeat to Three Regiments of the Parliaments Forces, and so return'd to *Oxford*.

*B.* Why did not the King go on from *Brentford*?

*A.* The Parliament, upon the first notice of the King's marching from *Shrewsbury*, caused all the Trained Bands, and the Auxiliaries of the City of *London* (which were so frightened, as to shut up all their shops) to be drawn forth; so that there was a complete and numerous Army ready for the Earl of *Effex*, that was crept into *London* just at that time to head it, and this was it that made the King retire to *Oxford*.

In the beginning of *February*, after Prince *Rupert* took *Cirencester* from the Parliament, with many Prisoners, and many Arms, for it was newly made a Magazine; and thus stood the business between the King's and the Parliaments Forces.

The Parliament in the meantime, caused a Line of Communication to be made about *London* and the Suburbs of 12 miles in compass, and constituted a Committee for the Association, and the putting into  
a posture

a posture of defence the Counties of *Essex*, *Cambridge*, *Suffolk*; and some others; and one of those Commissioners was *Oliver Cromwel*, from which employment he came to his following greatness.

B. What was done, during this time, in other parts of the Country?

A. In the West, the Earl of *Stamford* had the employment of putting in execution the Ordinance of Parliament for the Militia; and Sir *Ralph Hopton* for the King, executed the Commission of Array. Between those two was fought a Battel at *Liscard* in *Cornwal*, where Sir *Ralph Hopton* had the Victory, and presently took a Town called *Salisbury*, with many Arms, much Ordnance, and many Prisoners. Sir *William Waller* in the mean time seized *Winchester* and *Chichester* for the Parliament.

In the North, for the Commission of Array, my Lord of *Newcastle*; and for the Militia of the Parliament, was my Lord *Fairfax*. My Lord of *Newcastle* took from the Parliament *Tadcaster*, in which were a great part of the Parliaments Forces for that County, and had made himself, in a manner, Master of all the North. About this time, that is to say, in *February*, the Queen landed at *Burlington*, and was conducted by my Lord of *Newcastle*, and the Marquis of *Montrose*, to *York*; and not long after, to the King.

Divers other little Advantages, besides these, had the King's Party of the Parliaments in the North.

There hapned also between the Militia of the Parliament, the Commission of Array in *Staffordshire*, under my Lord *Brook* for the Parliament, and my Lord of *Northampton* for the King, great contention, where in both these Commanders were slain; for my Lord *Brook* besieging *Lichfield-Close*, was kill'd with a shot, notwithstanding which they gave not over the Siege, till they were Masters of the *Close*. But presently after my Lord of *Northampton* being slain, it again fell to the

King, which to relieve, Sir *William Brereton*, and Sir *John Gell*, advanced towards *Lichfield*, and were met at *Hopton-beath* by the Earl of *Norhampton*, and routed. The Earl himself was slain, but his Forces with Victory return'd to the Siege again; and shortly after seconded by Prince *Rupert*, who was then abroad in that Country, carried the place.

These were the chief Actions of this year 1642. wherein the King's Party had not much the worse.

*B.* But the Parliament had now a better Army, in so much that if the Earl of *Essex* had immediately followed the King to *Oxford* (not yet well fortified) he might, in all likelihood, have taken it; for he could not want either Men or Ammunition, whereof the City of *London* (which was wholly at the Parliaments devotion) had store enough.

*A.* I cannot judge of that; but this is manifest, considering the estate the King was in at his first marching from *York*, when he had neither Money, nor Men, nor Arms enough, to put him in hope of Victory, that this year (take it altogether) was very prosperous.

*B.* But what great Folly or Wickedness do you observe in the Parliaments Actions for this first year?

*A.* All that can be said against them in that point, will be excus'd with the pretext of War, and come under one Name of Rebellion, saving that when they summoned any Town, it was in the Name of the King and Parliament.

The King being in the contrary Army, and many times beating them from the Siege, I do not see how the right of War can justify such Impudence as that. But they pretended that the King was always virtually in the Two Houses of Parliament, making a distinction between his Person Natural and Politique, which made the Impudence the greater, besides the folly of it: For this was but an University Quibble, such as Boys make use of, in maintaining (in the Schools)

such



such Tenets as they cannot otherwise defend.

In the end of this year, they solicited also the *Scots* to enter *England* with an Army, to suppress the power of the Earl of *Newcastle* in the North, which was a plain Confession, that the Parliament Forces were at this time inferior to the King's; and most men thought, that if the Earl of *Newcastle* had then marched Southward, and joined his Forces with the King's, that most of the Members of Parliament would have fled out of *England*.

In the beginning of 1643. the Parliament seeing the Earl of *Newcastle*'s power in the North grown formidable, sent to the *Scots*, to hire them to an Invasion of *England*; and (to complement them in the meantime) made a Covenant among themselves, such as the *Scots* before had made against Episcopacy, and demolished Crosses, and Church-windows (such as had in them any Images of Saints) throughout all *England*.

Also in the middle of the year, they made a Solemn League with the Nation, which was called, *The Solemn League and Covenant*.

B. Are not the *Scots* as properly to be called Foreigners, as the *Irish*? seeing then they persecuted the Earl of *Strafford*, even to death, for advising the King to make use of *Irish* Forces against the Parliament; with what face could they call in a *Scotch* Army against the King?

A. The King's Party might easily here have discern'd their design, to make themselves absolute Masters of the Kingdom, and to dethrone the King.

Another great Impudence, or rather a Bestial Incivility it was of theirs, That they Voted the Queen a Traytor, for helping the King with some Ammunition, and *English* Forces, from *Holland*.

B. Was it possible that all this could be done, and Men not see that Papers and Declarations must be useless? And that nothing could satisfy them, but the

Deposing of the King, and setting up of themselves in his place.

A. Yes, very possible, for who was there of them, though knowing that the King had the Sovereign Power, that knew the Essential Rights of Sovereignty? They dreamt of a mixt Power of the King and the Two Houses, That it was a divided Power, in which there could be no Peace, was above their understanding, therefore they were always urging the King to Declarations, and Treaties, (for fear of subjecting themselves to the King in an absolute obedience) which increased the hope and courage of the Rebels, but did the King little good; for the People either understand not, or will not trouble themselves with Controversies in writing, but rather by his compliance by Messages, go away with an opinion, That the Parliament was likely to have the Victory in the War.

Besides, seeing that the Penners and Contrivers of those Papers, were formerly Members of the Parliament, and of another mind, and now revolted from the Parliament, because they could not bear that sway in the House which they expected. men were apt to think, they believed not what they wrote.

As for Military Actions (to begin at the Head Quarters) Prince *Rupert* took *Brinningram*, a Garison of the Parliaments.

In *July* after, the King's Forces had a great Victory over the Parliaments near the *Devizes* on *Roundway-down*, where they took 2000 Prisoners, four Brass Peeeces of Ordnance, 28 Colours, and all their Baggage. And shortly after *Bristol* was surrendred to Prince *Rupert* for the King; and the King himself marching into the West took from the Parliament many other considerable places.

But this good Fortune was not a little allay'd, by his besieging of *Glocester*, which, after it was reduced to the last gasp, was reliev'd by the Earl of *Essex*,  
whose

whose Army was before greatly wasted, but now recruited with Train'd Bands, and Apprentices of London.

B. It seems not only by this, but also by many Examples in History, That there can hardly arise a long or dangerous Rebellion, that has not some such overgrown City, with an Army or two in its belly, to foment it.

A. Nay more, those great Capital Cities, when Rebellion is upon pretence of Grievances, must needs be of the Rebel Party, because the Grievances are for Taxes, to which Citizens, (that is Merchants, whose profession is their private gain) are naturally mortal Enemies, their only glory being, to grow excessively rich, by the wisdom of buying and selling.

B. But they are said to be, of all Callings, the most beneficial to the Commonwealth, by setting the poorer sort of people on work.

A. That is to say, by making poor people sell their Labour to them at their own prizes, so that poor people, for the most part, might get a better Living by working in *Bridewell*, than by spinning, weaving, and other such labour as they can do, saving that by working slightly, they may help themselves a little, to the disgrace of our Manufacture. And as most commonly they are the first Encouragers of Rebellion, presuming in their strength; so also are they, for the most part, the first that repent, deceiv'd by them that command their strength.

But to return to the War: Though the King withdrew from *Glocester*, yet it was not to fly from, but to fight with the Earl of *Essex*, which presently after he did at *Newbery*, where the Battel was bloody, and the King had not the worst, unless *Cirencester* be put into the Scale, which the Earl of *Essex* had in his way a few days before surpriz'd.

But in the North and the West the King had much the better of the Parliament; for in the North, at the begin-

beginning of the year, *May 29.* the Earls of *Newcastle* and *Cumberland* defeated the Lord *Fairfax* (who commanded in those parts for the Parliament) at *Bramham-moor*, which made the Parliament to hasten the assistance of the *Scots*.

In *June* following, the Earl of *Newcastle* routed Sir *Thomas Fairfax* (Son to the Lord *Fairfax*) upon *Adderton-beach*, and in pursuit of them to *Bradford*, took and kill'd 2000 Men, and the next day took the Town and 2000 Prisoners more, (Sir *Thomas* himself hardly escaping) with all their Arms and Ammunition; and besides this, made the Lord *Fairfax* quit *Hallifax* and *Beverley*.

Lastly, Prince *Rupert* reliev'd *Newark*, besieg'd by Sir *John Meldrum* for the Parliament with 7000 men, whereof 1000 were slain, the rest upon Articles departed, leaving behind them their Arms, Bag and Baggage.

To ballance in part this success, the Earl of *Manchester*, whose Lieutenant General was *Oliver Cromwel*, got a Victory over the Royalists, near *Horn-Castle*, of which he slew 400, took 800 Prisoners, and 1000 Arms, and presently after took and plunder'd the City of *Lincoln*.

In the West, *May 16.* Sir *Ralph Hopton* at *Stratton* in *Devonshire*, had a Victory over the *Parliamentarians*, wherein he took 1700 Prisoners, 13 Brass Peeeces of Ordnance, and all their Ammunition, which was 70 Barrels of Powder, and their Magazine of their other Provisions in the Town.

Again at *Landsdown*, between Sir *Ralph Hopton* and the *Parliamentarians* under Sir *William Waller*, was fought a fierce Battel, wherein the Victory was not very clear on either side, saving that the *Parliamentarians* might seem to have the better, because presently after Sir *William Waller* follow'd Sir *Ralph Hopton* to the *Devizes* in *Wiltshire*, though to his cost;

for there he was overthrown, as I have already told you.

After this, the King in Person marched into the West, and took *Exeter*, *Dorchester*, *Barnstable*, and divers other places, and had he not at his Return besieged *Glocester*, and thereby giving the Parliament time for new Levies, 'twas thought by many he might have routed the House of Commons. But the end of this year was more favourable to the Parliament; for in *January* the *Scots* entered *England*, and *March* the first crossed the *Tyne*; and whilst the Earl of *Newcastle* was marching to them, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* gathered together a considerable Party in *Yorkshire*, and the Earl of *Manchester* from *Lyn* advanced towards *York*; so that the Earl of *Newcastle* having two Armies of Rebels behind him, and another before him, was forced to retreat to *York*, which those three Armies joyning presently besieged, and these are all the considerable Military Actions in the year 1643.

In the same year the Parliament caused to be made a new great Seal, the Lord Keeper had carried the former Seal to *Oxford*: Hereupon the King sent a Messenger to the Judges at *Westminster*, to forbid them to make use of it; this Messenger was taken, and condemned at a Council of War, and Hang'd for a Spy.

B. Is that the Law of War?

A. I know not: But, it seems, when a Soldier comes into the Enemies Quarters, without address, or notice given to the chief Commander, that it is presum'd he comes as a Spy.

The same year, when certain Gentlemen at *London* received a Commission of Array from the King, to Levy Men for his Service in that City, being discover'd, they were Condemn'd, and some of them Executed. This Case is not unlike the former.

B. Was

**B.** Was not the making of a new great Seal a sufficient proof that the War was raised, not to remove evil Counsellors from the King, but to remove the King himself from the Government; what hope then could there be had in Messages and Treaties?

**A.** The Entrance of the *Scots* was a thing unexpected to the King, who was made to believe by continual Letters from His Commissioners in *Scotland*, and Duke *Hamilton*, that the *Scots* never intended any Invasion. The Duke being then at *Oxford*, the King (assur'd that the *Scots* were now entered) sent him Prisoner to *Pendennis Castle* in *Cornwal*.

In the beginning of the year 1644. the Earl of *Newcastle* being (as I told you) besieged by the joint Forces of the *Scots*, the Earl of *Manchester*, and Sir *Thomas Fairfax*; the King sent Prince *Rupert* to relieve the Town, and as soon as he could, to give the Enemy Battle; Prince *Rupert* passing through *Lancashire*, and by the way having storm'd the seditious Town of *Bolton*, and taken in *Stockford* and *Liverpool*, came to *York*, *July 1.* and relieved it, the Enemy being risen thence, to a place called *Marston-moor*, about four miles off, and there was fought that unfortunate Battel, that lost the King, in a manner, all the North; Prince *Rupert* return'd by the way he came, and the Earl of *Newcastle* to *York*, and thence with some of His Officers over the Sea to *Hamburgh*.

The Honour of this Victory was attributed chiefly to *Oliver Cromwel*; (the Earl of *Manchester*'s Lieutenant General:) the *Parliamentarians* return'd from the Field, to the Siege of *York*, which, not long after, upon honourable Articles was surrendred; not that they were favoured, but because the Parliament could not employ much time, nor many men in the Siege.

B. This was a great and sudden abatement of the King's prosperity.

A. It was so, but amends was made him for it within 5 or 6 weeks after; for Sir *William Waller* (after the loss of his Army at *Roundway-down*) had another raised for him by the City of *London*, who, for the payment thereof, imposed a weekly Tax of the value of one Meals meat upon every Citizen. This Army, with that of the Earl of *Effex*, intended to besiege *Oxford*, which the King understanding, sent the Queen into the West, and marched himself towards *Worcester*. This made them to divide again, and the Earl to go into the West, and *Waller* to pursue the King. By this means it so fell out, that both their Armies were defeated; for the King turn'd upon *Waller*, routed him at *Copredy-Bridge*, took his Train of Artillery, and many Officers, and then presently followed the Earl of *Effex* into *Cornwal*, where he had him at such advantage, that the Earl himself was fain to escape in a small Boat to *Plymouth*; his Horse broke through the King's Quarters by night, but the Infantry were all forc'd to lay down their Arms, and upon conditions never more to bear Arms against the King, were permitted to depart.

In *October* following, was fought a second and sharp Battel at *Newbery*; for this Infantry making no Conscience of the Conditions made with the King, being now come towards *London*, as far as *Basingstoke*, had Arms put again into their hands; to whom some of the Trained Bands being added, the Earl of *Effex* had suddenly so great an Army, that he attempted the King again at *Newbery*, and certainly had the better of the day, but the night parting them, had not a complete Victory. And it was observed here, that no part of the Earl's Army fought so keenly, as they who had laid down their Arms in *Cornwal*.

These

These were the most important Fights in the year 1644, and the King was yet (as both himself and others thought) in as good a condition as the Parliament, which despair'd of Victory by the Commanders then us'd; therefore they voted a new modelling of the Army, suspecting the Earl of *Essex*, though I think wrongfully, to be too much a Royalist, for not having done so much as they look'd for in this second Battel at *Newbery*.

The Earls of *Essex* and *Manchester* perceiving what they went about, voluntarily laid down their Commissions; and the House of Commons made an Ordinance „ *That no Member of either House, should enjoy any Office or Command Military or Civil.*

With which oblique blow they shook off those that had hitherto serv'd them too well, and yet out of this Ordinance they excepted *Oliver Cromwell*, in whose Conduct and Valour they had very great confidence, (which they would not have done, if they had known him as well then, as they did afterwards) and made him Lieutenant-General.

In the Commission to the Earl of *Essex*, there was a Clause for Preservation of His Majesty's Person, which in this new Commission was left out, though the Parliament (as well as the General) were as yet *Presbyterians*.

B. It seems the *Presbyterians* also (in order to their ends) would fain have had the King murdered.

A. For my part, I doubt it not: For a Rightful King living, an usurping Power can never be sufficiently secured. In this same year the Parliament put to death Sir *John Hotham* and his Son, for tampering with the Earl of *Newcastle*, about the Rendition of *Hull*. And Sir *Alexander Carew*, for endeavouring to deliver up *Plymouth*, where he was Governor



Governour for the Parliament. And the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, for nothing but to please the *scots*. For the General Article of going about to subvert the Fundamental Laws of the Land, was no Accusation, but only foul words.

They then also voted down the Book of *Common-Prayer*, and ordered the use of a *Directory*, which had been newly compos'd by an Assembly of *Presbyterian* Ministers.

They were also then with much ado prevailed with for a Treaty with the King at *Oxbridge*, where they remitted nothing of their former demands.

The King had also at this time a Parliament at *Oxford*, consisting of such discontented Members as had left the Houses at *Westminster*, but few of them had changed their old principles, and therefore that Parliament was not much worth. Nay rather, because they endeavoured nothing but Messages and Treaties; that is to say, defeating the Soldiers hope of benefit by the War, they were thought by most men to do the King more hurt than good.

The year 1645, was to the King very unfortunate; for by the loss of one great battel, he lost all he had formerly gotten, and at length his life.

The new model'd Army, after consultation whether they should lay Siege to *Oxford*, or march Westward, to the relief of *Taunton*, (then besieged by the Lord *Goring*, and defended by *Blake*, famous afterward for his Actions at Sea) resolv'd for *Taunton*, leaving *Crommel* to attend the motions of the King, though not strong enough to hinder him. The King upon this advantage drew his Forces and Artillery out of *Oxford*. This made the Parliament to call back their General *Fairfax*, and order him to besiege *Oxford*. The King in the mean time relieved *Chester*, which was besieged by Sir *William Brereton*, and coming back, took *Leicester* by force, a place of great importance, and well provided of Artillery, and

and Provision, Upon this success, it was generally thought that the King's party was the stronger. The King himself thought so, and the Parliament in a manner, confest the same, by commanding *Fairfax* to rise from the Siege, and endeavour to give the King battel; for the Successes of the King, and the treacherous divisions growing now among themselves, had driven them to rely upon the fortune of one day, in which, at *Naseby*, the King's Army was utterly overthrown, and no hope left him to raise another; therefore after the battel he went up and down, doing the Parliament here and there some shrewd turns, but never much increasing his number.

*Fairfax* in the mean time first recovered *Leicester*, and then marching into the West, subdued it all, except only a few places, forcing, with much ado, my Lord *Hopton* (upon honourable conditions) to disband his Army, and with the Prince of *Wales*, to pass over to *Scilly*, whence not long after they went to *Paris*.

In *April*, 1646, General *Fairfax* began to march back to *Oxford*, in the mean time *Rainsborough*, who besieged *Woodstock*, had it surrendered. The King therefore, who was now also returned to *Oxford*, from whence *Woodstock* is but six miles, not doubting but that he should there by *Fairfax* be besieged, and having no Army to relieve him, resolved to get away disguised to the Scotch Army to *Newark*, and thither he came the 4th of *May*; and the Scotch Army being upon remove homewards, carried him with them to *Newcastle*, whither he came *May* the 13th.

B. Why did the King trust himself with the Scots? They were the first that rebell'd. They were Presbyterians, i. e. cruel. Besides, they were indigent, and consequently might be suspected would sell him to his Enemies for money. And lastly, They were too weak to defend him, or keep him in their Country.

A. What

A. What could he have done better? For he had in the Winter before sent to the Parliament, to get a Pass for the Duke of *Richmond*, and others, to bring them propositions of Peace, it was denied; he sent again, it was denied again. Then he desired he might come to them in person; this also was denied. He sent again and again to the same purpose; but instead of granting it, they made an Ordinance, *That the Commanders of the Militia of London, in case the King should attempt to come within the Line of Communication, should raise what Forces they thought fit to suppress Tumults, to apprehend such as came with him; and to secure (i. e. to imprison) his Person from danger.*

If the King had adventured to come, and had been imprisoned, what would the Parliament have done with him? They had dethron'd him by their Votes, and therefore could have no security while he lived, though in Prison; it may be they would not have put him to death by a High Court of Justice publicly, but secretly some other way.

B. He should have attempted to get beyond Sea.

A. That had been from *Oxford* very difficult. Besides, it was generally believ'd that the *Scottish* Army had promis'd him, that not only His Majesty, but also his Friends that should come with him, should be in their Army safe, not only for their persons, but also for their honours and consciences. 'Tis a pretty trick, when the Army, and the particular Soldiers of that Army are different things, to make the Soldiers promise what the Army means not to perform.

July 11. the Parliament sent their Propositions to the King at *Newcastle*, which Propositions they pretended to be the only way to a settled and well-grounded Peace. They were brought by the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, Sir *Walter Earl*, Sir *John Hyppesley*, Mr. *Goodwin*, and Mr. *Robinson*, whom the King asked, If they had power to treat? And when they said No, he ask'd why they might not as well have been

been sent by a Trumpeter. The propositions were the same dethroning ones which they used to send, and therefore the King would not assent to them. Nor did the *Scots* swallow them at first, but made some exceptions against them; only it seems, to make the Parliament perceive, they meant not to put the King into their hands *gratis*; and so at last the bargain was made between them, and upon payment of 200000*l.* the King was put into the hands of the Commissioners, which the *English* Parliament sent down to receive him.

*B.* What a vile Complexion hath this Action, compounded of feigned Religion, and very covetousness, cowardize, perjury, and treachery?

*A.* Now the War that seemed so just, by many unseemly things is ended, you will see almost nothing in these Rebels but baseness and falseness, besides their folly.

By this time the Parliament had taken in all the rest of the Kings Garisons, whereof the last was *Pendennis* Castle, whither Duke *Hamilton* had been sent Prisoner by the King.

*B.* What was done during this time in *Ireland* and *Scotland*?

*A.* In *Ireland* there had been a Peace made, by order from His Majesty, for a time, which by divisions by the *Irish* was ill kept. The Popish Party (the Pope's Nuncio being then there) took this to be the time for delivering themselves from their subjection to the *English*; besides, the time of the Peace was now expired.

*B.* How were they subject to the *English*, more than the *English* to the *Irish*? They were subject to the King of *England*, but so also were the *English* to the King of *Ireland*.

*A.* The distinction is somewhat too subtil for common understanding. In *Scotland* the Marquis of *Montrose* for the King with a very few men had miraculously with Victories over-run all *Scotland*, where ma-

ny of his Forces ( out of too much security ) were permitted to be absent for a while, of which the Enemy having intelligence, suddenly came upon them, and forced them to flie back into the High-lands to recruit; where he began to recover strength, when the King commanded him ( being then in the hands of the Scots at *Newcastle* ) to disband, and he departed from *Scotland* by Sea.

In the end of the same year 1646. the Parliament caused the King's great Seal to be broken. Also the King was brought to *Holmeby*, and there kept by the Parliaments Commissioners, and here was an end of that War as to *England* and *Scotland*, but not to *Ireland*. About this time also dyed the Earl of *Essex*, whom the Parliament had discarded.

B. Now that there was Peace in *England*, and the King in Prison, in whom was the Sovereign Power?

A. The Right was certainly in the King, but the exercise was yet in nobody, but contended for, as in a game at Cards, (without fighting both the years 1647. & 1648.) between the Parliament and *Oliver Cromwel*, Lieutenant General to Sir *Thomas Fairfax*. You must know that when King *Henry VIII.* abolished the Pope's Authority here, and took upon him to be the Head of the Church, the Bishops, as they could not resist him, so neither were they discontented with it. For whereas the Pope before allowed not the Bishops to claim Jurisdiction in their Diocesses, *Jure Divino*, that is, of Right immediately from God, but by the Gift and Authority of the Pope; now that the Pope was outed, they made no doubt but the divine Right was in themselves.

After this, the City of *Geneva*, and divers other places beyond Sea. having revolted from the *Papacy*, set up *Presbyteries* for the Government of their several Churches; and divers *English* Scholars that went beyond Sea, during the Persecution of Queen *Mary*, were much taken with this Government; and at their return in the time of Q. *Elizabeth*, and ever since, have endeavor'd

deavour'd, to the great trouble of the Church and Nation, to set up that Government here, wherein they might domineer, and applaud their own Wit and Learning. And these took upon them not only a Divine Right, but also a Divine Inspiration; and having been connived at, and countenanced sometimes in their frequent Preaching, they introduced many strange and many pernicious Doctrines, out-doing the Reformation (as they pretended both of *Luther* and *Calvin*) receding from the former Divinity, or Church-Philosophy, (for Religion is another thing) as much as *Luther* and *Calvin* had receded from the Pope, and distracted their Auditors into a great number of Sects, as *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, *Independants*, *Fifth-Monarchy Men*, *Quakers*, and divers others, all commonly called by the name of *Fanaticks*, insomuch as there was no so dangerous an Enemy to the *Presbyterians*, as this Brood of their own hatching.

These were *Cromwel's* best Cards, whereof he had a very great number in the Army, and some in the House, whereof he himself was thought one, though he were nothing certain, but applying himself always to the Faction that was strongest, was of a colour like it. There was in the Army a great number (if not most part) that aimed only at Rapine, and sharing the Lands and Goods of their Enemies; and these also, upon the opinion they had of *Cromwel's* Valor and Conduct, thought they could not any way better arrive at their Ends, than by adhering to him.

Lastly, In the Parliament it self, though not the major part, yet a considerable number were *Fanaticks*, enough to put in doubts, and cause delay in the Resolutions of the House; and sometimes also by advantages of a thin House, to carry a Vote in favour of *Cromwel*, as they did upon the 26 of *July*; for whereas on the 4th of *May* precedent, the Parliament had Voted, *That the Militia of London should be in the hands of a Committee of Citizens, whereof the Lord Mayor, for the time being should be one.*

Shortly

Shortly after the *Independents* chancing to be the *major*, made an Ordinance, whereby it was put into hands more favourable to the Army. The best Cards the Parliament had, were the City of *London*, and the person of the King. The General, Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, was right *Presbyterian*, but in the hands of the Army, and the Army in the hands of *Cromwel*, but which Party should prevail, depending on playing of the Game. *Cromwel* protested still Obedience and Fidelity to the Parliament, but meaning nothing less, bethought him, and resolv'd on a way to excuse himself of all that he should do to the contrary upon the Army; therefore he and his Son-in-law, Commissary General *Ireton*, as good at contriving as himself, and at speaking and writing better, contrive how to mutiny the Army against the Parliament. To this end they spread a whisper through the Army, that the Parliament, now they had the King, intended to disband them, to cheat them of their Arrears, and to send them into *Ireland*, to be destroyed by the *Irish*.

The Army being herewith inrag'd, were taught by *Ireton* to erect a Council among themselves of two Soldiers out of every Troop, and every Company to consult for the good of the Army, and to assist at the Council of War, and to advise for the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom. These were called Adjutators, so that whatsoever *Cromwel* would have to be done, he needed nothing to make them do it, but secretly to put it into the head of these Adjutators; the effect of the first Consultation, was to take the King from *Helmby*, and to bring him to the Army.

The General hereupon, by Letters to the Parliament, excuses himself and *Cromwel*, and the Body of the Army, as ignorant of the Fact; and that the King came away willingly with those Soldiers that brought Him, assuring them withal, That the whole

*Army intended nothing but Peace, nor opposed Presbytery, nor affected Independency, nor did hold any licentious freedom in Religion.*

B. 'Tis strange, that Sir Thomas Fairfax could be so abused by Cromwel, as to believe this which he himself here writes.

A. I cannot believe that Cornet Joyce could go out of the Army with a 1000 Soldiers to fetch the King, and neither the General, nor the Lieutenant-General, nor the Body of the Army take notice of it; and that the King went willingly, appears to be false by a Message sent on purpose from his Majesty to the Parliament.

B. Here is Perfidy upon Perfidy; first the Perfidy of the Parliament against the King, and then the Perfidy of the Army against the Parliament.

A. This was the first Trick Cromwel play'd, whereby he thought himself to have gotten so great an advantage, that he said openly, *That he had the Parliament in his Pocket*, (as indeed he had) and the City &c. For upon the news of it, they were both the one and the other in very great disorder; and the more, because there came with it a Rumer, that the Army was marching up to London.

The King in the mean time, till his residence was settled at Hampton Court, was carried from place to place, not without some ostentation; but with much more Liberty, and with more Respect shewn Him by far, then when He was in the hands of the Parliaments Commissioners; for His own Chaplains were allow'd Him, and His Children, and some Friends permitted to see Him: besides, that He was much Complimented by Cromwel, who promised Him in a serious and seeming passionate manner, to restore Him to His Right against the Parliament.

B. How was he sure he could do that?

A. He was not sure, but he was resolv'd to march up to the City and Parliament, to set up the King again,



again, and be the second man ; unless in the attempt he found better hopes than yet he had, to make himself the first man, by dispossessing the King.

B. What assistance against the Parliament and the City, could *Cromwell* expect from the King ?

A. By declaring directly for Him, he might have had all the King's Party, which were many more now since His misfortune, than ever they were before ; for in the Parliament it self, there were many that had discover'd the hypocrisie and private aims of their Fellows. Many were converted to their Duty, by their own natural Reason ; and their Compassion for the King's Sufferings, had begot generally an Indignation against the Parliament ; so that if they had been by the protection of the present Army brought together, and embodied, *Cromwell* might have done what he pleas'd in the first place for the King, and in the second for himself ; but it seems he meant first to try what he could do without the King, and if that prov'd enough, to rid his Hands of him.

B. What did the Parliament and City do, to oppose the Army ?

A. First the Parliament sent to the General, to have the King re-deliver'd to their Commissioners.

Instead of an Answer to this, the Army sent Articles to the Parliament, and with them a Charge against eleven of their Members, all of them active *Presbyterians* ; of which Articles these are some :

I. *That the House may be purged of those, who, by the Self-deceiving Ordinance, ought not to be there.*

II. *That such as abused, and endevoured the Kingdom might be disabled, to do the like hereafter.*

III. *That a day might be appointed to determine this Parliament.*

G<sub>2</sub>

IV. *That*

*IV. That they would make an Account to the Kingdom of the vast Sums of Money they had received.*

*V. That the Eleven Members might presently be suspended sitting in the House.*

These were the Articles that put them to their Trumps, and they answered none of them, but that of the Suspension of the Eleven Members, which they said they could not do by Law, till the particulars of the Charge were produced.

But this was soon answer'd, with their own Proceedings against the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and the Earl of *Strafford*.

The Parliament being thus somewhat aw'd, and the King made somewhat confident, he undertakes the City, requiring the Parliament to put the Militia into other hands.

*B.* What other hands? I do not well understand you.

*A.* I told you that the Militia of *London* was on the 4th of *May*, put into the hands of the Lord Mayor, and other Citizens, and soon after put into the hands of other Men more favourable unto the Army. And now I am to tell you, that on *July* 16. the violence of certain Apprentices, and disbanded Soldiers, forced the Parliament to re-settle it as it was in the Citizens; and hereupon the two Speakers, and divers of the Members ran away to the Army where they were invited, and contented to sit and Vote in the Council of War, in the nature of a Parliament; and out of these Citizens hands they would have the Militia taken away, and put again into those hands out of which it was taken the 16th of *July*.

*B.* What said the City to this?

*A.* The *Londoners* mann'd their works, viz. the Line of Communication, rais'd an Army of valiant Men

## Civil Wars of England. 147

Men within the Line, chose good Officers, all being desirous to go out and fight, whensoever the City should give them Order; and in that posture stood, expecting the Enemy. The Soldiers in the mean time enter into an Engagement to live and dye with Sir Thomas Fairfax, the Parliament, and the Army.

B. That's very fine; they imitate that which the Parliament did, when they first took up Arms against the King, styling themselves, *The King and Parliament*; maintaining, *That the King was always virtually in his Parliament*: So the Army now making War against the Parliament, called themselves, the Parliament and the Army; but they might with more reason say, That the Parliament (since it was in Cromwell's Pocket) was virtually in the Army.

A. Withall they send out a Declaration of the grounds of their March towards London, wherein they take upon them to be Judges of the Parliament, and of who are fit to be trusted with the business of the Kingdom, giving them the name, not of the Parliament, but of the Gentlemen at Westminster; for since the violence they were under July 26. the Army denied them to be a lawful Parliament.

At the same time they sent a Letter to the Mayor and Aldermen of London, reproaching them with those late Tumults, telling them, *They were Enemies to the Peace, Treacherous to the Parliament, Unable to defend either the Parliament or themselves, and demanded to have the City delivered into their hands, to which purpose (they said) they were now coming to them.*

The General also sent out his Warrants to the Counties adjacent, summoning their Train'd Soldiers to join with them.

B. Were the Train'd Soldiers part of the Generals Army?

A. No, nor at all in Pay, nor could be, without an Order of Parliament. But what might not

an Army do, that had master'd all the Laws of the Land?

The Army being come to *Hounslow-heath*, distant from *London* but ten Miles, the Court of Aldermen was called, to consider what to do; the Captains and Soldiers of the City were willing, and well-provided to go forth, and give them Battel; but a Treacherous Officer, that had charge of a work on *Southward* side, had let in within the Line a small Party of the Enemies, who marched as far as to the Gate of *London-Bridge*, and then the Court of Aldermen (their Hearts failing them) submitted on these Conditions.

*To relinquish their Militia.*

*To desert the eleven Members.*

*To deliver up the Forts and Line of Communication, together with the Tower of London, and all Magazines and Arms therein to the Army.*

*To disband their Forces, and turn out all the Reformados, i. e. all Essex's old Soldiers.*

*To draw off their Guards from the Parliament.*

All which was done, and the Army marched Triumphantly through the principal Streets of the City.

*A.* 'Tis strange that the Mayor and Aldermen having such an Army, should so quickly yield. Might they not have resisted the Party of the Enemies at the Bridge, with a Party of their own, and the rest of the Enemies with the rest of their own?

*A.* I cannot judge of that: but to me it would have been strange if they had done otherwise; for I consider the most part of rich Subjects, that have made themselves so by Craft and Trade, as men that never look upon any thing but their present profit, and who to every thing not lying in that way are in a manner blind, being amaz'd at the very thought of Blundering: If they had understood what virtue there

there is to preserve their Wealth in obedience to their lawful Sovereign, they would never have sided with the Parliament; and so we had had no need of arming: The Mayor and Aldermen therefore assur'd by this submission to save their Goods, and not sure of the same by resisting. seem to me to have taken the wisest course; Nor was the Parliament less tame than the City, for presently, *August 6.* the General brought the Fugitive Speakers and members to the House with a strong Guard of Soldiers, and re-placed the Speakers in their Chairs; and for this they gave the General thanks, not only there in the House, but appointed also a day for a holy Thanksgiving; and not long after made him *Generalissimo* of all the Forces of *England*, and Constable of the *Town*: But in effect, all this was the advancement of *Cromwel*, for he was the Usufructuary, though the Property was in Sir *Tho. Fairfax*; for the *Independents* immediately cast down the whole Line of Communication, divide the Militia of *London*, *Westminster*, and *Southwark*, which were before united, displaced such Governours of Towns and Forts as were not for their turn, though placed there by Ordinance of Parliament, instead of whom they put in men of their own party: they also made the Parliament to declare null all that had passed in the Houses, from *July* the 26th to *Aug.* the 6th, and clapt in prison some of the Lords, and some of the most Eminent Citizens, whereof the Lord Mayor was one.

*B.* *Cromwel* had power enough now to restore the King, why did he not?

*A.* His main end was to set himself in his place; the restoring of the King was but a reserve against the Parliament, which being in his pocket, he had no more need of the King, who was now an Impediment to him: To keep him in the Army was a trouble, to let him fall into the hands of the *Presbyterians* had been a stop to his hopes, to murder him privately

(besides the horreur of the act) now whilst he was no more than Lieutenant General. would have made him odious, without farthering his design; there was nothing better for his purpose, than to let him escape from *Hampton-Court*) where he was too near the Parliament) whither he pleased beyond Sea: For though *Cromwel* had a great Party in the Parliament Houses, whilst they saw not his Ambition to be their Master, yet they would have been his Enemies as soon as that had appear'd. To make the King attempt an escape, some of those that had him in Custody, by *Cromwel*'s direction told him, that the Adjutators meant to murder him; and withal, caused a rumour of the same to be generally spread, to the end it might that way also come to the Kings Ear, as it did.

The King therefore in a dark and rainy night (his Guards being retir'd, as it was thought on purpose) left *Hampton Court*, and went to the Sea-side, about *Senthampton*, where a Vessel had been bespoken to transport him, but fail'd; so that the King was forced to trust himself with Colonel *Hammond*, then Governour of the Isle of *Wight*, expecting perhaps some kindness from him for Doctor *Hammonds* sake, Brother to the Colonel, and his Majesties much-favour'd Chaplain; but it prov'd otherwise, for the Colonel sent to his Masters of the Parliament, to receive their Orders concerning him. This going into the Isle of *Wight* was not likely to be any part of *Cromwel*'s Design, who neither knew whither, nor which way he would go, nor had *Hammond* known any more than other men, if the Ship had come to the appointed place in due time.

B. If the King had escaped into *France*, might not the *French* have assisted him with Forces to recover his Kingdom, and so frustrated the designs, both of *Cromwel*, and all other the Kings Enemies?

A. Yes much, just as they assisted his Son, our present most gracious Soveraigu, who two years before fled *Liberty* out of *Cornwall*.

B. 'Tis

## Civil Wars of England. 151

B. 'Tis methinks no great policy in Neighbouring Princes, to favour, so often as they do, one anothers Rebels, especially when they rebel against Monarchy it self; they should rather first make a League against Rebellion, and afterwards (if there be no remedy) fight one against another: Nor will that serve the turn among Christian Sovereigns, till Preaching be better lookt to, whereby the Interpretation of a Verse in the *Hebrew, Greek, or Latine Bible*, is oftentimes the cause of Civil War, and the deposing and assassinating of Gods Anointed; and yet converse with those Divinity Disputers as long as you will, you will hardly find one in a hundred discreet enough to be employed in any great Affairs, either of War or Peace: It is not the Right of the Sovereign, though granted to him by every mans consent expressly, that can inable a Subject to do his Office, it is the obedience of the Subject; and then by and by to cry out (as some Ministers did in the Pulpit) *To your Tent, O Israel*. Common people knew nothing of right or wrong by their own meditation; they must therefore be taught the grounds of their Duty, and the reasons why Calamities ever follow Disobedience to their lawful Sovereigns: But to the contrary, our Rebels were publickly taught Rebellion in the Pulpits, and that there was no sin, but the doing of what the Preachers forbid, or the committing of what they advis'd: But now the King was the Parliaments Prisoner, why did not the *Presbyterians* advance their own Interest by restoring him?

A. The Parliament, in which there were more *Presbyterians* yet than *Independents*, might have gotten what they would of the King, during his life, if they had not by an unconfessionable and selfish Ambition obstructed the way to their Ends: They sent him four Propositions to be signed and pass'd by him as Acts of Parliament, telling him, when these were granted they would send Commissioners to treat with him of any other Articles,

First, The Propositions are these :

That the Parliament should have the Militia, and power of levying Money to maintain it for twenty years; and after that term, the exercise thereof to return to the King, in case the Parliament think the safety of the Kingdom concern'd in it.

B. This first Article takes from the King the Militia, and consequently the whole Sovereignty for ever.

A. The second was, That the King should justify the proceedings of the Parliament against himself; and declare void all Oaths and Declarations made by him against the Parliament.

B. This was to make him guilty of the War, and of all the Blood-spilt therein.

A. The third was, To take away all Titles of Honour conferred by the King, since the Great Seal was carried to him in May 1642.

The fourth was, That the Parliament should Adjourn themselves, when, and to what place, and for what time they pleas'd.

These Propositions the King refus'd to grant; as he had reason, but sent others of his own not much less advantageous to the Parliament, and desir'd a Personal Treaty with the Parliament, for the settling of the Peace of the Kingdom; but the Parliament denying them to be sufficient for that purpose, voted, that there should be no more Addresses made to him, nor Messages receiv'd from him, but they would settle the Kingdom without him: And this they voted, partly upon the Speeches and Menaces of the Army-Faction then present in the House of Commons, whereof one advised these three Points,

1. To secure the King in some In-land Castle with Guards.

2. To draw up Articles of Impeachment against him,

3. To lay him by, and settle the Kingdom without him.



## Civil Wars of England. 153

Another said, that his denying the four Bills, was the denying Protection to his Subjects; and that therefore they might deny him subjection; and added, that till the Parliament forsook the Army, the Army would never forsake the Parliament: This was threatening. Last of all, *Cromwel* himself told them, it was now expected that the Parliament should govern and defend the Kingdom, and not any longer let the people expect their safety from a man whose heart God had hardened; nor let those that had so well defended the Parliament, be left afterward to the rage of an irreconcilable Enemy, lest they seek their safety some other way. This again was threatening; as also laying his hand upon his Sword when he spake it.

And hereupon the Vote of Non-Addresses was made an Ordinance, which the House would afterward have recalled, but were forc'd by *Cromwel* to keep their word.

The *Scotch* were displeas'd with it, partly because their Brethren the *Presbyterians* had lost a great deal of their Power in *England*, and partly also, because they had sold the King into their hands. The King now published a passionate Complaint to his People of this hard dealing with him, which made them pity him, but not yet rise in his behalf.

*B.* Was not this, think you, the true time for *Cromwel* to take possession?

*A.* By no means, there were yet many Obstacles to be removed; he was not General of the Army; the Army was still for a Parliament; the City of *London* discontented about their Militia; the *Scots* expected with an Army to rescue the King; his Adjutators were Levellers, and against Monarchy, who though they had helped him to bring under the Parliament, yet like Dogs that are easily taught to fetch, and not easily taught to render, would not make him King; so that *Cromwel* had these businesses following to overcome.

1. To be *Generalissimo*.
2. To remove the King.
3. To suppress all Insurrections.
4. To oppose the *Seas*: And

Lastly, To dissolve the present Parliament: Mighty businesses, which he could never promise himself to overcome; therefore I cannot believe he then thought to be King, but only by serving the strongest Party (which was alwayes his main policy) to proceed as far as Fortune and that would carry him.

*B.* The Parliament were certainly no less foolish than wicked, in deserting thus the King, before they had the Army at a better Command than they had.

*A.* In the beginning of 1648. the Parliament gave Commission to *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke* (then made Chancellour of *Oxford*, together with some of the Doctors there, as good Divines as he) to purge the University; by vertue whereof they turn'd out all such as were not of their Faction, and all such as had approved the use of the Common Prayer-Book; as also divers scandalous Ministers and Scholars (that is, such as customarily and without need took the Name of God into their mouths, or used to speak wantonly, or use the company of lewd Women) and for this last I cannot but commend them.

*B.* So shall not I; for it is just such another piece of Piety, as to turn Men out of an Hospital because they are lame: Where can a man probably learn Godliness, and how to correct his Vices better, than in the Universities erected for that purpose?

*A.* It may be the Parliament thought otherwise; for I have often heard the Complaints of Parents, that their Children were debauched there to Drunkenness, Wantonness, Gaming, and other Vices, consequent to these: Nor is it a wonder among so many Youths, if they did not corrupt one another in

## Civil Wars of England. 155

in despite of their Tutors, who oftentimes were little Elder than themselves; And therefore (I think) the Parliament did not much reverence the Institution of Universities, as to the bringing up of young men to Vertue, though many of them learn'd there to Preach, and became thereby capable of preferment and maintenance; and some others were sent thither by their Parents, to save themselves the trouble of governing them at home; during that time wherein Children are least governable. Nor do I think the Parliament car'd more for the Clergy than other men did: But certainly an University is an Excellent Servant to the Clergy, and the Clergy if it be not carefully lookt too, (by their Dissenticus Doctrines, and by the advantage to publish their Dissentions) is no extraordinary means to divide a Kingdom into Faction.

B. But seeing there is no place in this part of the World, where Philosophy and other Humane Sciences are not highly valued, where can they be learned better, than in the Universities?

A. What other Sciences? Do not Divines comprehend all Civil and Moral Philosophy within their Divinity? And as for Natural Philosophy, is it not remov'd from *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, to *Gresham-College* in *London*, and to be learn'd out of their *Quarries*? But we are gone from our Subject.

B. No, we are indeed gone from the great business of the Kingdom, to which, if you please, let us return.

A. The first Insurrection, or rather Tumult, was of the Apprentices, on the 9th of *April*; but this was not upon the Kings Account, but arose from a customary Assembly of them for recreation in *Moor-fields*, whence some zealous Officers of the Train'd-Bands would needs drive them away by force, but were themselves routed with Stones, and had their Ensign taken away by the Apprentices, which they carry'd about in the

the Streets, and frightened the Lord Mayor into his House, where they took a Gun, called a *Drake*, and then they set Guards at some of the Gates, and all the rest of the day Childishly swagger'd up and down: but the next day the General himself marching into the City, quickly dispersed them. This was but a small business, but enough to let them see that the Parliament was ill-belov'd of the people. Next, the *Welsh* took Arms against them; there were three Colonels in *Wales*, *Langhorn*, *Poyer*, and *Powel*, who had formerly done the Parliament good Services, but now were commanded to disband, which they refus'd to do; and the better to strengthen themselves, declared for the King, and were about Eight Thousand.

About the same time in *Wales* also was an another Insurrection, headed by Sir *Nicholas Keymisb*, and another under Sir *John Owen*; so that now all *Wales* was in Rebellion against the Parliament: And yet all these were overcome in a Months time by *Cromwel*, and his Officers, but not without store of Blood-shed on both sides.

B. I do not much pity the loss of those men, that impute to the King that which they do upon their own quarrel.

A. Presently after this, some of the people of *Surrey* sent a Petition to the Parliament for a Personal Treaty between the King and Parliament, but their Messengers were beaten home again by the Soldiers that quartered about *Wistminster*; and then the *Kentish* men having a like Petition to deliver, and seeing how it was like to be receiv'd, threw it away, and took up Arms; they had many Gallant Officers, and for General, the Earl of *Norwich*, and increas'd daily by Apprentices, and old disbanded Soldiers, insomuch as the Parliament was glad to restore to the City their Militia, and to keep Guards upon the *Thames* side; and then *Fairfax* march'd towards the Enemy.

A. And

**B.** And then the *Londoners*, I think, might easily and suddenly have Master'd, first the Parliament, and next *Fairfax* his eight thousand, and lastly *Cromwell's* Army, or at least have given the *Scotch* Army opportunity to march unfought to *London*.

**A.** 'Tis true, but the City was never good at venturing; nor were they, or the *Scots*, principled to have a King over them, but under them. *Fairfax* marching with eight thousand against the Royalists, routed a part of them at *Maidstone*; another part were taking in of places in *Kent* farther off, and the Earl of *Norwich*, with the rest came to *Black-Heath*, and then sent to the City to get passage through it, to joyn with these which were risen in *Essex*, under Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Sir *George Lisle*; which being denied, the greatest part of his *Kentish* men deserted him; with the rest, not above five hundred, he crossed the *Thames* unto the Isle of *Dogs*, and so to *Bow*, and thence to *Colchester*. *Fairfax* having notice of this, crossed the *Thames* at *Graves-End*, and overtaking them, besieged them in *Colchester*: The Town had no defence but a Bulwark, and yet held out, upon hope of the *Scotch* Army to relieve them, the space of two Months.

Upon the news of the defeat of the *Scots*, they were forced to yield; the Earl of *Norwich* was sent Prisoner to *London*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Sir *George Lisle*, two Loyal and Gallant Persons, were shot to Death. There was also another little Insurrection headed by the Earl of *Holland* about *Kingston*, but quickly suppress'd, and he himself taken Prisoner.

**B.** How came the *Scots* to be so soon dispatch'd?

**A.** Meerly, as it is said, for want of Conduct: The Army was led by Duke *Hamilton*, who was then set at liberty, when *Pendennis* Castle, where he was Prisoner was taken by the Parliament: He enter'd *England* with Horse and Foot 10000, to which came above 3000 English Royalists. Against these *Crom-*

wel marched out of *Wales*, with Horse and Foot 11000, and near to *Preſton* in *Lancaſhire*, in leſs than two hours, defeated them; and the cauſe of it is ſaid to be that the *Scotch Army* was ſo ordered, as they could not all come to the Fight, nor relieve their Fellows: After the Deſeat they had no way to fly but farther into *England*, ſo that in the purſuit they were almoſt all taken, and loſt all that an Army could loſe, for the few that got home, did not all bring home their Swords. Duke *Hamilton* was taken, and not long after ſent to *London*, but *Cromwel* marched to *Edenburgh*, and there, by the help of the Faction which was contrary to *Hamilton's*, he made ſure not to be hindred in his Deſigns, the firſt whereof was to take away the King's life by the hand of the Parliament: whileſt theſe things paſſed in the North, the Parliament (*Cromwel* being away) came to it ſelf, and recalling their Vote of *Non-Addreſſes*, ſent to the King new Propoſitions, ſomewhat, but not much eaſier than the former, and upon the King's Anſwer to them, they ſent Commiſſioners to treat with him at *Newport* in the Iſle of *Wight*, where they ſo long dodged with him about Trifles, that *Cromwel* was come to *London* before they had done, to the Kings deſtruction, for the Army was now wholly at the Devotion of *Cromwel*, who ſet the Adjutators on work to make a Remonſtrance to the Houſe of Commons; wherein they require: 1. That the King be brought to Juſtice. 2. That the Prince, and Duke of *York*, be ſummon'd to appear at a day appointed, and proceeded with, according as they ſhould give ſatisfaction. 3. That the Parliament ſettle the future Government, and ſet a reaſonable period to their own ſitting, and make certain future Parliaments Annual; or Biennial. 4. That a competent number of the Kings chief Inſtruments be executed; and this to be done both by the Houſe of Commons, and by a General agreement of the people, teſtified by their Sub-

## Civil wars of England. 159

Subscriptions: Nor did they stay for an Answer, but presently set a Guard of Soldiers at the Parliament House Door, and other Soldiers in *Westminster-Hall*, suffering none to go into the House, but such as would serve their turns; all others were frightened away, or made Prisoners, and some upon divers Quarrels insuspended. About ninety of them, because they had refused to vote against the *Scots*; and others because they had voted against the Vote of Non-Addressees; and the rest were a House for *Cromwel*. The *Phonaticks* also in the City being countenanced by the Army, pack a new Common-Council, whereof any forty was to be above the Mayor, and their first work was to frame a Petition for Justice against the King; which *Tichbourne* the Mayor (involving the City in the Regicide) delivered to the Parliament.

At the same time, with like violence they took the King from *Newport*, in the Isle of *Wight*, to *Hurst Castle*, till things were ready for His Tryal; the Parliament, in the mean time, to avoid Perjury, by an Ordinance declar'd void the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance; and presently after made another to bring the King to his Tryal.

B. This is a piece of Law that I understood not before, that when many men swear singly, they may when they are Assembled (if they please) absolve themselves.

A. The Ordinance being drawn up, was brought into the House, where after three several Readings, it was Voted, *That the Lords and Commons of England Assembled in Parliament, do declare, That by the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, it is Treason in the King of England to levy War against the Parliament: And this Vote was sent up to the Lords, and they denying their consent, the Commons in Anger made another Vote, That all Members of Committees should proceed and act in any Ordinance, whether*

whether the Lords concurr'd or no; and that the People, under God, are the Original of all just Power; and that the House of Commons have the Supreme Power of the Nation; and that whatsoever the House of Commons Enacted, is Law. All this passed *namine contradi-cente*.

*B.* These Propositions fight not only against a King of England, but against all the Kings of the World: It were good they thought on't; but yet I believe, that, under God, the Original of all Laws was in the People.

*A.* But the People, for them and their heirs, by consent and Oaths, have long ago put the Supreme Power of the Nation into the hands of their Kings, for them and their Heirs; and consequently into the hands of this King, their known and lawful heir.

*B.* But does not the Parliament represent the People?

*A.* Yes, to some purposes; as to put up Petitions to the King when they have leave, and are griev'd; but not to make a grievance of the Kings Power: Besides, the Parliament never represents the People, but when the King calls them: Is it to be imagined, that he calls a Parliament to depose himself? Put the case every County and Burrough should have given for a Benevolence a sum of Money, and that every County meeting in their County Court, or else-where, and that every Burrough in their Town-Hall, should have chosen certain men to carry their several sums respectively to the Parliament, had not these men represented the whole Nation?

*B.* Yes, no doubt.

*A.* Do you think the Parliament would have thought it reasonable to be called to an account by this Representative?

*B.* No, sure; and yet, I must confess, the Case is the same.

*A.* This Ordinance contained; First, a Summary of



## Civil Wars of England. 161

of the Charge against the King; in substance this, That not content with the Incroachments of his Predecessors upon the freedom of the People, he had design'd to set up a Tyrannical Power; and to that end, had rais'd and maintain'd in the Land a Civil War against the Parliament, whereby the Country hath been miserably wasted, the Publick Treasure exhausted, thousands of people murdered, and infinite other mischiefs committed.

Secondly, A Constitution pass'd of a High Court of Justice; that is, of a certain number of Commissioners, of whom any twenty had power to try the King, and proceed to Sentence, according to the Merit of the Cause, and see it speedily executed. The Commissioners met on Saturday, *January 10.* in *Westminster-Hall*, and the King was brought before them, sitting in a Chair: He heard the Charge read, but denied to plead to it, either Guilty, or not Guilty, till he should know by what lawful Authority he was brought thither: The President told him, that the Parliament affirm'd their own Authority; and the King persevered in his refusal to plead; though many words pass'd between him and the President; yet this is the sum of all: on Monday, *January 12.* the Court met again, and the Solicitor mov'd, that if the King persisted in denying the Authority of the Court, the Charge might be taken *pro confesso*; but the King still denyed their Authority.

They met again, *January 13.* and then the Solicitor mov'd the Court for Judgment; whereupon the King was requir'd to give his Final Answer, which was again a denial of their Authority.

Lastly, They met again, *January 17.* where the King then desir'd to be heard before the Lords and Commons in the *Painted Chamber*; and promising after that to abide the Judgment of the Court; the Commissioners retir'd for half an hour to consider of it; and then returning, caus'd the King again to be brought to the Bar, and told him, that what he propos'd, was but

but another denial of the Courts Jurisdiction; and that if he had no more to say, they would proceed to Judgment: Then the King answering, that he had no more to say, the President began a long Speech, in justification of the Parliaments Proceedings, producing the Examples of many Kings kill'd or depos'd by wicked Parliaments, Ancient and Modern, in *England, Scotland*, and other parts of the World: All which he endeavoured to justify from this only Principle, that the People have the Supreme Power, and the Parliament is the People. This Speech ended, the Sentence of Death was read, and the same upon Tuesday after, *January* the 30. executed at the Gate of his own Palace of *White-Hall*. He that can delight in reading how villanously he was used by the Souldiers, between the Sentence and Execution, may go to the Chronicle it self, in which he shall see what courage, patience, wisdom, and goodness was in this Prince, whom in their Charge the Members of that wicked Parliament styled Traytor, Tyrant, and Murderer.

The King being dead, the same day they made an Act of Parliament, *That whereas several pretences might be made to the Crown, &c. it is Enacted by this present Parliament, and Authority of the same, that no Person shall presume to declare, proclaim, or publish, or any way promote Charles Stuart, Son of Charles last King of England, commonly called Prince of Wales, or any other Person, to be King of England and Ireland, &c.*

B. Seeing the King was dead, and his Succession barr'd, by what declar'd Authority was the Peace maintain'd?

A. They had in their anger against the Lords formerly declar'd the Supreme Power of the Nation to be in the House of Commons; and now, on *February* the fifth, they Vote the House of Lords to be useless, and dangerous. And thus the Kingdom was turn'd

turn'd into a *Democracy*, or rather an *Oligarchy*; for presently they made an Act, That none of those Members who were seclused for opposing the Vote of Non-Addresses, should ever be re-admitted: And these were commonly called the Seclused Members, and the rest were by some styled a Parliament, and by others a Rump.

I think you need not now have a Catalogue either of the Vices, or of the Crimes, or of the Follies of the greatest part of them that compos'd the Long-Parliament, than which greater cannot be in the world: What greater Vices than Irreligion, Hypocrisy, Avarice, and Cruelty, which have appeared so eminently in the actions of *Presbyterian* Members, and *Presbyterian* Ministers? What greater Crimes than Blasphemy, and killing Gods Anointed, which was done by the hands of the *Independents*, but by the folly and first Treason of the *Presbyterians*, who betrayed and sold him to his Murderers? Nor was it a little folly in the Lords, not to see that by the taking away of the Kings Power, they lost withall their own Priviledges; or to think themselves either for number or judgment any way a considerable assistance to the House of Commons: And for these men who had skill in the Laws, it was no great sign of understanding, not to perceive that the Laws of the Land were made by the King, to oblige his Subjects to Peace and Justice, and not to oblige himself that made them: Lastly, and generally, all men are Fools which pull down any thing which does them good, before they have set up something better in its place: He that would set up *Democracy* with an Army, should have an Army to maintain it; but these men did it, when those men had the Army that were resolv'd to pull it down. To these follies, I might add the follies of those five men, which out of their reading of *Tully*, *Seneca*, and other *Antimonarchicals*, think themselves sufficient Politicks, and shew their discontents when

when they are not called to the management of the State, and turn from one side to the other upon every neglect they fancy from the King, or his Enemies,

A. **Y**OU have seen the Rump in possession (as they believ'd) of the Supreme Power over the two Nations of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Army their Servant, though *Cromwel* thought otherwise, serving them diligently for the advancement of his own purpose; I am now therefore to shew you their proceedings.

B. Tell me first, how this kind of Government, under the Rump or Relick of a House of Commons, is to be call'd.

A. 'Tis doubtless an *Oligarchy*; for the Supreme Authority must needs be in one man, or in more; if in one, it is *Monarchy*; the Rump therefore was no *Monarchy*; if the Authority were in more than one, it was in all, or in fewer than all; when in all, it is *Democracy*; for every man may enter into the Assembly which makes the Sovereign Court, which they could not do here; It is therefore manifest, the Authority was in a few, and consequently the State was an *Oligarchy*.

B. Is it not impossible for a people to be well Governed, that are to obey more Masters than one?

A. Both the Rump, and all other Sovereign Assemblies, if they have but one Voice, though they be many Men, yet are they but one Person; for contrary Commands cannot consist in one and the same Voice, which is the Voice of the greatest part; and therefore they might govern well enough, if they had honesty and wit enough.

The first Act of the Rump, was the Exclusion of those Members of the House of Commons which had been formerly kept out by Violence, for the procuring

curing of an Ordinance for the King's Tryal; for these men had appear'd against the Ordinance of Non-Addressees, and therefore to be excluded, because they might else be an Impediment to their future Designs.

B. Was it not rather, because in the Authority of few, they thought the fewer the better, both in regard of their shares, and also of a nearer approach in every one of them to the Dignity of a King?

A. Yes certainly, that was their Principal End.

B. When these were put out, why did not the Counties and Burroughs chuse others in their Places?

A. They could not do that without Order from the House: After this, they constituted a Council of forty persons, which they termed a Council of State, whose Office was to execute what the Rump should command.

B. When there was neither King, nor House of Lords, they could not call themselves a Parliament; for a Parliament is a meeting of the King, Lords and Commons, to confer together about the Business of the Common-Wealth: With whom did the Rump confer?

A. Men may give to their Assembly what Name they please, what signification soever such Name might formerly have had, and the Rump took the Name of Parliament, as most suitable to their purpose; and such a Name, as being Venerable among the people for many hundred years, had countenanced and sweetened Subsidies, and other Levies of Money, otherwise very unpleasant to the Subject: They took also afterwards another name, which was, *Custodes Libertatis Angliae*, which Title they used only in their Writs issuing out of the Courts of Justice?

B. I do not see how a Subject that is tyed to the Laws, can have more liberty in one form of Government than another.

A. Howsoever to the people that understand by Liberty, nothing but leave to do what they list, it was a Title not ungrateful.

Their next work was to set forth a publick Declaration that they were fully resolved to maintain the Fundamental Laws of the Nation, as to the preservation of the Lives, Liberties, and Proprieties of the people.

B. What did they mean by the Fundamental Laws of the Nation?

A. Nothing but to abuse the people; for the only Fundamental Law in every Common-Wealth, is to obey the Laws from time to time, which he shall make, to whom the people have given the Supreme Power: How likely then are they to uphold the Fundamental Laws, that had murdered him, who was by themselves so often acknowledged their lawful Sovereign: Besides, at the same time that this Declaration came forth, they were erecting the High Court of Justice, which took away the lives of Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, and the Lord *Capel*; whatsoever they meant by a Fundamental Law, the Erecting of this Court was a breach of it, as being warranted by no former Law, or Example in *England*.

At the same time also they levied Taxes by Soldiers, and permitted Free Quarter to them; and did many other Actions, which if the King had done, they would have said had been done against the Liberty and Propriety of the Subject.

B. What silly things are the common sort of people, to be cozen'd as they were so grossly?

A. What sort of people, as to this matter, are not of the common sort? the craftiest Knaves of all the Rump were no wiser than the rest whom they cozen'd;

## Civil Wars of England. 167

coven'd ; for the most of them did believe, that the same things which they impos'd upon the generality, were just and reasonable ; and especially the great Haranguers, and such as pretended to Learning : for who can be a good Subject in a Monarchy, whose Principles are taken from the Enemies of Monarchy ? such as were *Cicero, Seneca, Cato*, and other Politicians of *Rome*, and *Aristotle of Athens*, who spake of Kings but as Wolves, and other ravenous Beasts ? You may perhaps think a man has need of nothing else, to know the duty he owes to his Governour, and what right he has to order him, but a good Natural Wit : But it is otherwise ; for it is a Science, and built upon sure and clear Principles, and to be learn'd by deep and careful study, or from Masters that have deeply studied it : And who was there in the Parliament, or in the Nation, that could find out those evident Principles, and derive from thence the necessary Rules of Justice, and the necessary Connexion of Justice and Peace ? The people have one day in seven the leisure to hear Instructions, and there are Ministers appointed to teach them their duty : But how have these Ministers perform'd their Office ? A great part of them, namely, the *Presbyterian* Ministers, throughout all the whole War, instigated the people against the King ; so did also *Independents*, and other Fanatick Ministers : The rest contented with their Livings, preached in their Parishes points of Controversie, to Religion impertinent, but to the breach of Charity, among themselves, very effectual ; or else Eloquent things, which the people either understood not, or thought themselves not concern'd in : But this sort of Preachers, as they did little good, so they did little hurt ; the mischief proceeded wholly from the *Presbyterian* Preachers, who by a long practis'd Histrionick Faculty, preached up the Rebellion powerfully.

B. To what end ?

A. To the end, that the State becoming popular,

H

he

the Church might be so too, and govern'd by an Assembly; and consequently (as they thought) seeing Politicks are subservient to Religion, they might govern, and thereby satisfy their covetous humour with Riches, and also their malice with Power to undo all men that admir'd not their Wisdom. Your calling the people silly things, oblig'd me by this digression to shew you, that it is not want of Wit, but want of the Science of Justice that brought them into these troubles. Perswade, if you can, that man that has made his Fortune, or made it greater, or an Eloquent Orator, or a ravishing Poet, or a subtil Lawyer, or but a good hunter, or a cunning Gamester, that he has not a good Wit; and yet there were of all these a great many so silly as to be deceived by the Rump. They wanted not wit, but the knowledg of the Causes, and grounds upon which one person has a right to govern, and the rest an obligation to obey; which grounds are necessary to be taught the people, who without them cannot live long in peace among themselves.

*B.* Let us return, if you please, to the proceedings of the Rump.

*A.* In the rest of the year, they voted a new Stamp for the Coyn of this Nation: They considered also of Agents to be sent into Foreign Parts; and having lately receiv'd Applause from the Army for their work done by the High Court of Justice, and encouragement to extend the same farther, they perfected the said High Court of Justice, in which were tryed Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, the Lord *Capel*, the Earl of *Norwich*, and Sir *John Owen*, whereof (as I mention'd before) the first three were beheaded. This affrighted divers of the Kings Party out of the Land, for not only they, but all that had born Arms for the King, were at that time in very great danger of their lives: for it was put to the question by the Army at a Council of War whether they should be all Massacred or no; when the No's carried it but by two Voices. Lastly, *Mars*



## Civil wars of England. 169

24. they put the Mayor of *London* out of his Office, fined him two thousand pound, disfranchised him, and condemn'd him to two Months Imprisonment in the *Tower*, for refusing to proclaim the Act for abolishing of the Kingly Power. And thus ended the year 1648. and the Monthly Fast, God having granted that which they fasted for, the death of the King, and the possession of his Inheritance. By these their Proceedings, they had already lost the hearts of the generality of the people, and had nothing to trust to but the Army, which was not in their power, but in *Cromwell's*, who never fail'd, when there was occasion, to put them upon all. Exploits that might make them odious to the people, in order to his future dissolving them, whensoever it should conduce to his ends. In the beginning of 1649. the *Scots* discontented with the proceedings of the Rump against the late King, began to levy Soldiers, in order to a new Invasion of *England*. The *Irish* Rebels, for want of timely resistance from *England*, were grown terrible; and the *English* Army at home, infected by the Adjutators, began to cast about, how to share the Land among the Godly, meaning themselves, and such others as they pleas'd, who were therefore call'd *Levellers*: Also the Rump, for the present, were not very well provided of Money; and therefore the first thing they did, was the laying of a Tax upon the people, of ninety thousand pound a Month, for the maintenance of the Army.

B Was it not one of their Quarrels with the King, that he had levied Money without the consent of the people in Parliament?

A. You may see by this what reason the Rump had, to call it self a Parliament; for the Taxes imposed by Parliament, were always understood to be by the peoples consent, and consequently legal.

To appease the *Scots*, they sent Messengers with flattering Letters, to keep them from ingaging for the present King; but in vain, for they would hear no-

thing from a House of Commons (as they call'd it) at *Westminster*, without a King, and Lords: But they sent Commissioners to the King, to let him know what they were doing for him, for they were resolv'd to raise an Army of seventeen thousand Foot, and six thousand Horse for themselves. To relieve *Ireland*, the Rump had resolv'd to send eleven Regiments thither out of the Army here in *England*. This happened well for *Cromwel*, for the Levelling Soldiers, which were in every Regiment many, and in some the major part. finding that instead of dividing the Land at home, they were to venture their Lives in *Ireland*, flatly denied to go; and one Regiment having cashier'd their Colonel about *Salisbury*, was marching to joyn with three Regiments more of the same resolution; but both the General, and *Cromwel*, falling upon them at *Barford*, utterly defeated them, and soon after reduced the whole Army to their obedience. And thus another of the Impediments to *Cromwel*'s Advancement was soon remov'd. Thus done, they came to *Oxford*, and thence to *London*; and at *Oxford*, both the General, and *Cromwel* were made Doctors of the Civil Law; and at *London* feasted and presented by the City.

B. Were they not first made Masters, then Doctors?

A. They had made themselves Masters already, both of the Laws, and Parliament. The Army being now obedient, the Rump sent over those eleven Regiments into *Ireland*, under the Command of Doctor *Cromwel*, Entitled, Governour of that Kingdom, the Lord *Fairfax* being still General of all the Forces, both here and there.

The Marquess, now Duke of *Ormond*, was the Kings Lieutenant of *Ireland*; and the Rebels had made a Confederacy among themselves, and those Confederates had made a kind of League with the Lieutenant, wherein they agreed upon liberty given them in the exercise of their Religion, to be faithful to, and assist the King. To these also were joyned some

## Civil wars of England. 171

Some Forces rais'd by the Earls of *Castlehaven*, and *Clanriccard*, and my Lord *Inchequin*, so that they were the greatest United Strength in the Island; but there were among them a great many other *Papists* that would by no means subject themselves to *Protestants*, and these were called the *Nuncio's Party*, as the other were called the Confederate Party. These Parties not agreeing, and the Confederate Party having broken their Articles, the Lord Lieutenant seeing them ready to besiege him in *Dublin*, and not able to defend it, to preserve the place for the *Protestants*, surrenders it to the Parliament of *England*, and came over to the King, at this time when he was carried from place to place by the Army. From *England* he went over to the Prince, now King, residing then at *Paris*: But the Confederates affrighted with the news that the Rump was sending over an Army thither, desir'd the Prince, by Letters, to send back my Lord of *Ormond*, engaging themselves to submit absolutely to the Kings Authority, and to obey my Lord of *Ormond* as his Lieutenant: And thereupon he was sent back. This was about a year before the going over of *Cromwel*; in which time, by the Dissentions in *Ireland* between the Confederate Party, and the *Nuncio's Party*, and discontents about Command, this otherwise sufficient Power effected nothing, and was at last defeated, *August* the second, by a Salley out of *Dublin*, which they were besieging. Within a few days after arriv'd *Cromwel*, who with extraordinary diligence, and horrid Executions, in less than a Twelve-month that he staid there, subdued, in a manner, the whole Nation. having kill'd, or exterminated a great part of them, and leaving his Son-in-law *Ireton* to subdue the rest: But *Ireton* died there (before the business was quite done) of the Plague. This was one step more towards *Cromwel's* Exaltation to the Throne.

B. What a miserable condition was *Ireland* reduced

to by the Learning of the *Roman*, as well as *England* was by the Learning of the *Presbyterian* Clergy?

A. In the latter end of the preceeding year, the King was come from *Paris* to the *Hague*, and shortly after came thither from the Rump, their Agent *Davislaus*, Doctor of the Civil Law, who had been employed in the drawing of the Charge against the late King: But the first night he came, as he was at Supper, a Company of Cavaliers, near a dozen, entered his Chamber, kill'd him, and got away. Not long after also, their Agent at *Madrid*, one *Ascham*, that had written in defence of his Masters, was kill'd in the same manner. About this time came out two Books; one written by *Salmasius*, a *Presbyterian*, against the Murder of the King; another written by *Milton*, an *Independent* in *England*, in Answer to it.

B. I have seen them both; they are very good *Latine* both, and hardly to be judged which is better; and both very ill reasoning, and hardly to be judged which is worst: like two *Declamations Pro and Con*, for Exercise only in a *Rhetorick School*, by one and the same man: So like is a *Presbyterian* to an *Independent*.

A. In this year the Rump did not much at home, save that in the beginning they made *England* a Free State, by an Act that runs thus, *Be it Enacted and Declared by this present Parliament, and by the Authority thereof, That the people of England, and all the Dominions and Territories therunto belonging, are and shall be, and are hereby constituted, made, and declared a Common-wealth, and Free State, &c.*

B. What did they mean by a Free State and Common-wealth? were the people no longer to be subject to Laws? They could not mean that: for the Parliament meant to Govern them by their own Laws, and punish such as broke them. Did they mean that *England* should not be subject to any foreign Kingdom or Com-

## Civil wars of England. 173

Common-wealth? That needed not be Enacted, seeing there was no King nor People pretended to be their Masters. What did they mean then?

A. They meant that neither this King, nor any King, nor any single person, but only that they themselves would be the Peoples Masters; and would have set it down in those plain words, if the people could have been cozen'd with words intelligible as easily as with words not intelligible.

After this they gave one another Money and Estates out of the Lands and Goods of the Loyal Party. They Enacted also an Engagement to be taken by every man, in these words, *You shall promise to be true and faithful to the Common-wealth of England, as it is now established, without King or House of Lords.*

They banished also from within 20 Miles of London all the loyal Party, forbidding every one of them to depart more than five miles from his dwelling house.

B. They meant perhaps to have them ready, if need were, for a Massacre: But what did the Scots in this time?

A. They were considering of the Officers of the Army which they were levying for the King, how they might exclude from Command all such as had loyally serv'd his now Majesty's Father, and all Independents, and all such as commanded in Duke Hamilton's Army: And these were the main things which passed this year.

The Marquess of Montrose, that had in the year 1645. with a few men, and in a little time, done things almost incredible against the late King's Enemies in Scotland, landed now again in the beginning of the year 1650. in the North of Scotland, with Commission from the present King, hoping to do him as good service as he had formerly done his Father; but the case was alter'd, for the Scotch Forces were then in England, in the service of the Parliament; whereas now they were in Scotland, and many more (for their intended Invasion) newly rais'd: Besides, the Soldiers which the Marquess brought over were few, and

Forreigners ; nor did the *High-landers* come in to him, as he expected, insomuch as he was soon defeated, and shortly after taken ; and (with more spiteful usage than revenge requir'd) Executed by the Covenanters at *Edinburgh*, *May* the 2d.

B. What good could the King expect from joining with these men, who, during the Treaty, discover'd so much malice to him in one of his best Subjects ?

A. No doubt (their Church-men being then prevalent) they would have done as much to this King, as the *English* Parliament had done to his Father, if they could have gotten by it that which they foolishly aspir'd to, the Government of the Nation : I do not believe that the *Independents* were worse than the *Presbyterians*, both the one and the other were resolv'd to destroy whatsoever should stand in the way to their Ambition : but necessity made the King pass over both this and many other Indignities from them, rather than suffer the pursuit of his right in *England* to cool, and be little better than extinguished.

B. Indeed, I believe the Kingdom, if suffered to become an old Debt, will hardly ever be recover'd : Besides, the King was sure, where-ever the Victory lighted, he could lose nothing in the War but Enemies.

A. About the time of *Montrosses* death, which was in *May*, *Cromwel* was yet in *Ireland*, and his work unfinished ; but finding, or by his Friends advertis'd, that his presence in the Expedition now preparing against the *Scots*, would be necessary to his Design, sent to the Rump, to know their pleasure, concerning his return : But for all that, he knew, or thought it was not necessary to stay for their Answer, but came away, and arriv'd at *London* the sixth of *June* following, and was welcom'd by the Rump. Now had General *Fairfax* (who was truly what he pretended to be, a *Presbyterian*) been so Catechis'd by the *Presbyterian* Ministers here, that he refused to fight against the Brethren in *Scotland* ; nor did the Rump, nor *Cromwel*,

## Civil Wars of England. 175

go about to rectifie his Conscience in that point. And thus *Fairfax* laying down his Commission, *Cromwel* was now made General of all the Forces in *England* and *Ireland*, which was another step to the Sovereign Power.

B. Where was the King ?

A. In *Scotland*, newly come over, he landed in the North, and was honourably conducted to *Edinburgh*, though all things was not yet well agreed upon between the *Scots* and him : for he had yielded to as hard Conditions, as the late King had yielded to in the *Isle of Wight* ; yet they had still somewhat to add, till the King enduring no more, departed from them towards the North again : But they sent Messengers after him, to pray him to return ; but they furnished these Messengers with strength enough to bring him back, if he should have refus'd. In fine, they agreed, but would not suffer the King, or any Royalist, to have Command in the Army.

B. The sum of all is, the King was their Prisoner.

A. *Cromwel* from *Berwick* sends a Declaration to the *Scots*, telling them, he had no Quarrel against the people of *Scotland*, but against the malignant Party that had brought in the King, to the disturbance of the Peace between the two Nations ; and that he was willing by Conference to give and receive satisfaction, or to decide the Justice of the Cause by Battel : To which the *Scots* answering, declare, That they will not prosecute the Kings Interest, before and without his acknowledgment of the sins of his House, and his former ways ; and satisfaction given to Gods people in both Kingdoms. Judge by this, whether the present King was not in as bad a condition here, as his Father was in the hands of the *Presbyterians* of *England*.

B. *Presbyterians* are every where the same ; they would fain be absolute Governours of all they converse with, and have nothing to plead for it ; but that where they reign, 'tis God that reigns, and no where else.

H: 5

But:

But I observe one strange demand, that the King should acknowledg the sins of his House; for I thought it had been certain from all Divines, that no man was bound to acknowledg any mans sins but his own.

A. The King having yielded to all that the Church requir'd, the *Scots* proceeded in their intended War. *Cromwel* marched on to *Edinburgh*, provoking them all he could to Battel; which they declining, and provisions growing scarce in the *English* Army, *Cromwel* retir'd to *Dunbar*, despairing of success, and intending by Sea or Land to get back into *England*: And such was the condition which this General *Cromwel*, so much magnified for Conduct, had brought his Army to, that all his Glories had ended in shame and punishment, if Fortune's, and the faults of his Enemies, had not reliev'd him: for as he retir'd, the *Scots* follow'd him close all the way, till within a mile of *Dunbar*. There is a ridge of Hills, that from beyond *Edinburgh* goes winding to the Sea, and crosses the High-way between *Dunbar* and *Barwick*, at a Village called *Copperspits*, where the passage is so difficult, that if the *Scots* had sent timely thither a very few men to guard it, the *English* could never have passed: for the *Scots* kept the Hills, and needed not have fought, but upon great advantage, and were almost two to one. *Cromwel*'s Army was at the Foot of those Hills, on the North side; and there was a great Ditch, or Channel of a Torrent, between the Hills and it; so that he could never have got home by Land, nor without utter ruine of the Army attempted to ship it, nor have stayed where he was for want of provisions. Now *Cromwel* knowing the Pass was free, and commanding a good Party of Horse and Foot to possess it, it was necessary for the *Scots* to let them go, whom they brag'd they had impounded, or else to fight, and therefore with the best of their Horse charged the *English*, and made them at first to shrink a little, but the *English* Foot coming on, the *Scots* were put to flight, and the flight of their



## Civil Wars of England. 177

their Horse hindred the Foot from engaging, who therefore fled, as did also the rest of their Horse. Thus the folly of the *Scottish* Commanders brought all these odds to an even lay between two small and equal Parties, wherein Fortune gave the Victory to the *English*, who were not many more in number than those that were killed and taken Prisoners of the *Scots*, and the Church lost their Cannon, Bag and Baggage, with 10000 Arms, and almost their whole Army; the rest were got together by *Leisby* to *Sterling*.

B. This Victory hapned well for the King, for had the *Scots* been Victors, the Presbyterians both there and here would have domineer'd again, and the King been in the same condition his Father was in at *Newcastle*, in the hands of the *Scottish* Army. For in pursuit of this Victory, the *English* at last brought the *Scots* to a pretty good habit of obedience for the King, whensoever he should recover his Right.

A. In pursuit of this Victory the *English* marched to *Edinborough*, quitted by the *Scots*, fortified *Leith*, and took in all the strength and Castles they thought fit on this side the *Firth*, which now was become the Bounds betwixt the two Nations; and the *Scottish* Ecclesiasticks began to know themselves better, and resolved in their new Army, which they meant to raise, to admit some of the Royalists into Command: *Cromwel* from *Edinborough* march'd towards *Sterling* to provoke the Enemy to fight, but finding danger in it, returned to *Edinborough*, and besieged the Castle: In the mean time he sent a Party into the West of *Scotland* to suppress *Strangham* and *Kerr*, two great Presbyterians, that were there levying of Forces for their new Army. And in the same time the *Scots* Crowned the King at *Scone*.

The rest of this year was spent in *Scotland*, on *Cromwel*'s part in taking of *Edinborough* Castle, and in attempts to pass the *Firth*, or any other ways to get over to the *Scottish* Forces; and on the *Scots* part, in hastening their Levies for the North. B.

B. What did the Rump at home during this time?

A. They voted Liberty of Conscience to the Sectaries; that is, they pluckt out the sting of Presbytery, which consisted in a severe imposing of odd Opinions upon the people, impertinent to Religion, but conducing to the advancement of the power of the Presbyterian Ministers. Also they levied more Souldiers, and gave the Command of them to *Harrison*, now made Major General, a Fifth-Monarchy man; and of these Souldiers, two Regiments of Horse and one of Foot were raised by the Fifth-monarchy-men, and other Sectaries, in thankfulness for this their Liberty from the Presbyterian Tyranny. Also they pull'd down the late Kings Statue in the *Exchange*, and in the place where it stood caused to be written these words, *Exit Tyrannus Regum ultimus*, &c.

B. What good did that do them? and why did they not pull down the Statues of all the rest of the Kings?

A. What account can be given of actions that proceed not from Reason, but Spight and such like passions? Besides this, they received Ambassadors from *Portugal* and *Spain*, acknowledging their Power: And in the very end of the Year, they prepared an Ambassador to the *Netherlands*, to offer them friendship: All they did besides, was persecuting and executing of Royalists.

In the beginning of the Year 1651. General *Dean* arrived in *Scotland*; and on the 11th of *April* the *Scottish* Parliament assembled, and made certain Acts in order to a better uniting of themselves, and better obedience to the King, who was now at *Sterling* with the *Scottish* Forces he had: expecting more now in levying. *Con-wal* from *Edinburgh* went divers times to *Sterling*, to provoke them to fight: There was no Ford there to pass over his men: At last, Boats being come from *London* and *Newcastle*, Colonel *Overton* (though it were long first, for it was now *July*) transported 1400 Foot of his own, besides another Regiment:

## Civil Wars of England. 179

ment of Foot and four Troops of Horse, and intrencht himself at *North-Ferry* on the other side, and before any help could come from *Stirling* Major General *Lambert* also was got over with as many more; by this time Sir *John Brown* was come to oppose them with 4500 men, whom the *English* there defeated, killing about 2000, and taking Prisoners 1600. This done, and as much more of the Army transported as was thought fit, *Cromwel* comes before *St. Johnston's* (from whence the *Scottish* Parliament, upon news of his passing the *Irish*, was removed to *Dundee*) and summons it; and the same day had news brought him, that the King was marching from *Stirling* towards *England*, which was true; but notwithstanding the King was three days march before him, he resolv'd to have the Town before he followed him, and accordingly had it the next day by surrender.

B. What hopes had the King in coming into *England*, having before and behind him none, at least none armed, but his Enemies?

A. Yes there was before him the City of *London*, which generally hated the Rump, and might easily be reckoned for 20000 well armed Souldiers; and most men believed they would have taken his part had he come near the City.

B. What probability was there of that? Do you think the Rump was not sure of the service of the Mayor, and those that Commanded the City Militia? And if they had been really the Kings Friends, what need had they to stay his coming up to *London*? They might have seiz'd the Rump if they had pleas'd, which had no possibility of defending themselves; at least, they might have turn'd them out of the House.

A. This they did not, but on the contrary permitted the recruiting of *Cromwel's* Army, and the raising of men to keep the Country from coming in to the King. The King began his march from *Stirling* the last of *July*, and *Aug. 22.* came to *Worcester*, by the way of *Carlisle*, with a weary Army, of about 13000; whom

whom *Cromwel* followed, and joining with the new Levies, environ'd *Worcester* with 40000, and on the third of *September* utterly defeated the Kings Army: Here Duke *Hamilton*, brother of him that was beheaded, was slain.

B. What became of the King?

A. Night coming on before the City was quite taken, he left it, being dark, and none of the Enemies Horse within the Town to follow him; the plundering Foot having kept the Gates shut, lest the Horse should enter, and have a share of the Booty: The King before morning got into *Warwickshire*, 25 Miles from *Worcester*, and there lay disguised a while, and afterwards went up and down in great danger of being discovered, till at last he got over into *France* from *Brighton* in *Sussex*.

B. When *Cromwel* was gone what was farther done in *Scotland*?

A. Lieutenant Gen. *Monk* whom *Cromwel* left there with 7000 took *Stirling*, *August* the 14th, by surrender; and *Dundee* the third of *September* by Storm, because it resisted; this the Soldiers plundered, and had good booty, because the *Scots* for safety had sent thither their most precious Goods from *Edinburgh* and *St. Johnston's*; he took likewise by surrender *Aberdeen*, and the place where the Scottish Ministers first learned to play the Fools, *St. Andrews*; Also in the *Highlands* Colonel *Alured* took a knot of Lords and Gentlemen, viz. four Earls, and four Lords, and above twenty Knights and Gentlemen, whom he sent Prisoners into *England*, so that there was nothing more to be feared from *Scotland*: all the trouble of the Rump was to resolve what they shou'd do with it, at last they resolved to Unite and Incorporate it into a Common-wealth with *England* and *Ireland*, and to that end sent thither *St. Johns Vane*, and other Commissioners, to offer them this Union by publick Declaration, and to warn them to chuse their Deputies of Shires, and Burgeses of Towns, and send them to *Westminster*. E. This

*B.* This was a great favour.

*A.* I think so; and yet it was by many of the *Scots*, especially by the Ministers and other *Presbyterians* refused: the Ministers had given way to the Levying of Money for the payment of the *English* Soldiers, but to comply with the Declaration of *English* Commissioners they absolutely forbade.

*B.* Methinks this contributing to the pay of their Conquerors was some mark of Servitude, where entering into the Union made them free, and gave them equal Privilege with the *English*.

*A.* The cause why they refused the Union, rendered by the *Presbyterians* themselves, was this, That it drew with it a subordination of the Church to the Civil State in the things of Christ.

*B.* This is a down-right Declaration to all Kings and Common-wealths in general, that a *Presbyterian* Minister will be a true Subject to none of them in the things of Christ, which things what they are they will be Judges themselves: what then have we gotten by our Deliverance from the Popes Tyranny, if these pretty men succeed in the place of it, that having nothing in them that can be beneficial to the Publick, except their silence? for their Learning, it amounts to no more than an imperfect knowledge of Greek and Latin, and acquir'd readiness in the Scripture Language, with a Gesture and Tone suitable thereunto: but of Justice and Charity (the manners of Religion) they have neither knowledge nor practice, as is manifest by the Stories I have already told you: nor do they distinguish between the Godly and Ungodly, but by Conformity of Design in men of Judgment: or by Repetition of their Sermons in the Common sort of people.

*A.* But this fullness of the *Scots* was to no purpose, for they at *Westminster* Enacted the Union of the two Nations, and the Abolition of Monarchy in *Scotland*, and ordained Punishment for those that should transgress the Act.

*B.* What

B. What other business did the Rump this year?

A. They sent *St. Johns* and *Strickland* Ambassadors to the *Hague*, to offer League to the *United Provinces*, who had Audience *March* the third: *St. Johns* in a Speech shewed those States what advantage they might have by this League, in their Trade and Navigations, by the use of the English Ports and Harbors; the *Dutch*, though they shewed no great forwardness in the business, yet appointed Commissioners to treat with them about it, but the people were generally against it, calling the Ambassadors and their Followers (as they were) Traytors and Murderers, and made such Tumults about their House, that their Followers durst not go abroad till the States had quieted them: the Rump advertis'd hereof, presently recall'd them; the Complement which *St. Johns* gave to the Commissioners, at their taking leave, is worth your hearing; You have (said he) an Eye upon the Event of the Affairs of *Scotland*, and therefore do refuse the Friendship we have offered now. I can assure you many in the Parliament were of Opinion that we should not have sent any Ambassadors to you, till we expected your Ambassadors to us: I now perceive our Error, and that those Gentlemen were in the right: In a short time you shall see that business ended, when it shall perplex you that you have refus'd our proffer.

B. *S. Johns* was not sure that the *Scottish* business would end as it did; for though the *Scots* were beaten at *Dunbar*, he could not be sure of the Event of their entering of *England*, which happened afterward.

A. But he guess'd well; for within a Month after the Battel at *Worcester*, an Act passed, forbidding the importing of Merchandize in other than *English* Ships: The *English* also molested their Fishing upon our Coast: They also many times searched their Ships (upon occasion of our War with *France*) and made some of them Prize: and then the *Dutch* sent their Ambassadors hither, to desire what they before refus'd;

## Civil Wars of England. 183

refus'd ; but partly also to inform themselves what Naval Forces the *English* had ready, and how the people were contented with the Government.

B. How sped they ?

A. The Rump shewed now as little desire of Agreement, as the *Dutch* did then, standing upon terms never likely to be granted. First, For the Fishing on the *English* Coast, that they should not have it without paying for it. Secondly, That the *English* should have free Trade from *Middleburgh* to *Antwerp*, as they had before their Rebellion against the King of *Spain*. Thirdly, They demanded amends for the old (but never-to-be-forgotten) business of *Ambosyna* ; so that the War was already certain, though the Season kept them from Action till the Spring following. The true Quarrel on the *English* part was, that their professed Friendship was scorn'd, and their Ambassadors affronted : On the *Dutch* part, was their greediness to ingross all Traffick, and a false Estimate of our and their own strength. Whilst these things were doing, the Reliques of the War, both in *Ireland* and *Scotland*, were not neglected, though these Nations were not fully pacified till two years after : The Persecution of *Royallists* also still continued, among whom was beheaded one *M. Love*, for holding Correspondence with the King.

B. I had thought *Presbyterian* Ministers, whilst they were such, could not be *Royallists*, because they think their Assembly have the Supreme Power in the things of Christ ; and by consequence they are in *England* by a Statute Traytors.

A. You may think so still ; for though I called *Mr. Love* a *Royallist*, I meant it only for that one act for which he was condemned. It was he, who, during the treaty at *Oxbridge*, preaching before the Commissioners there, said, *It was as possible for Heaven and Hell, as for the King and Parliament to agree*. Both he and the rest of the *Presbyterians* are and were Enemies to the Kings Enemies, *Cromwell* and his Phanatics, for their

their own, not for the King's sake: Their Loyalty was like that of Sir *John Hotham*, that kept the King out of *Hull*, and afterwards would have betrayed the same to the *Marquess of Newcastle*. These *Presbyterians* therefore cannot be rightly called Loyal, but rather doubly perfidious; unless you think that as two Negatives make an Affirmative, so two Treasons make Loyalty.

This Year also were reduced to the obedience of the Rump, the Islands of *Scilly* and *Man*, and the *Barbado's*, and *St. Christophers*. One thing fell out that they liked not, which was that *Cromwel* gave them warning to determine their sitting according to the Bill for Triennial Parliaments.

B. That I think was harsh.

A. In the year 1652. *May 14.* began the *Dutch War* in this manner, three *Dutch Men of War*, with divers Merchants from the *Straights*, being discovered by one Captain *Young*, who commanded some *English Frigats*, the said *Young* sent to their Admiral to bid him strike his Flag (a thing usually done in acknowledgment of the *English* Domixion in the Narrow Seas) which accordingly he did. Then came up the Vice-Admiral, and being called so as the other was to take down his Flag, he answered plainly he would not; but after the exchange of four or five Broadfides, and mischief done on either part, he took it down; but Captain *Young* demanded also either the Vice-Admiral himself, or his Ship, to make satisfaction for the dammage already sustained. To which the Vice-Admiral answered, that he had taken in his Flag, but would defend himself and his Ship: where-upon Captain *Young* consulting with the Captains of his other Ships, lest the beginning of the War in this time of Treaty should be charged upon himself, and night also coming on, thought fit to proceed no farther.

B. The War certainly began at this time; but who began it?

A. The Dominion of the Sea belonging to the *Eng-  
lish*,



*lish*, there can be no question but the *Dutch* began it; and that the said Dominion belonged to the *English*, it was confest at first by the Admiral himself peaceably, and at last by the Vice-Admiral, taking in their Flags.

About a Fortnight after there happened another Fight upon the like occasion, upon *Tromp* with 42 Men of War, who came back to the back of *Godwin-sands* (*Major Bourn* being then with a few of the Parliament's Ships in the *Downs*, and *Blake* with the rest farther Westward) and sent two Captains of his to *Bourn* to excuse his coming thither: To whom *Bourn* returned this answer, that the Message was civil, but that it might appear real, he ought to depart. So *Tromp* departed, meaning (now *Bourn* was satisfied) to sail towards *Blake*, and he did so; but so did also *Bourn*, for fear of the worst: When *Tromp* and *Blake* were near one another, *Blake* made a shot over *Tromp's* Ship, as a warning to him to take in his Flag: This he did thrice, and then *Tromp* gave him a Broad-side, and so began the Fight (at the beginning whereof *Bourn* came in) and lasted from two a Clock till night, the *English* having the better, and the Flag as before making the Quarrel.

B. What need is there, when both Nations were heartily resolved to fight, to stand so much upon this Complement of who should begin? For as to the gaining of Friends and Confederates thereby, I think 'tis in vain; seeing Princes and States on such occasions, look not much upon the Justice of their Neighbours, but upon their own concernment in the Event.

A. It is commonly so: but in this case the *Dutch* knowing the Dominion of the Narrow Seas to be a gallant Title, and envied by all the Nations that reach the Shore, and consequently that they were likely to oppose it, did wisely enough in making this point the state of the Quarrel.

After this Fight the *Dutch* Ambassadors residing in *England*, sent a Paper to the Council of State, where-in they stiled this last Encounter a rash action, and affirmed

firmed it was done without the knowledge, and against the will of their Lords, the States General, and desired them that nothing might be done upon it in heat, which might become irreparable. The Parliament hereupon voted, First, That the States General should pay the Charges they were at, and for the Damages they sustained upon this occasion. Secondly, That this being paid, there should be a Cessation of all Acts of Hostility, and a mutual Restitution of all Ships and Goods taken. Thirdly, And both these agreed so, that there should be made a League between the two Common-wealths. These Votes were sent to the *Dutch* Ambassadors, in answer of the said Paper; but with a Preamble setting forth the former kindnesses of *England* to the *Netherlands*, and taking notice of their new Fleet of 150 Men of War, without any other apparent Design than the Destruction of the *English* Fleet.

B. What answer made the *Dutch* to this?

A. None. *Tromp* sailed presently into *Zealand*, and *Blake* with 70 Men of War to the *Orkney*-Islands, to seize their Busses, and to wait for five *Dutch* Ships from the *East-Indies*; and Sir *George Ascue*, newly return'd from the *Barbados*, came into the Downs with fifteen Men of War, where he was commanded to stay for a Recruit out of the *Thomas*. *Tromp*, being recruited to 120 Sail, made account to get in between Sir *George Ascue* and the Mouth of the River, but was hindered so long by contrary Winds, that the Merchants calling for his Convoy he could stay no longer, and so he went back into *Holland*, and thence to *Orkney*, where he met with the said five *East-India* Ships, and sent them home: and then he endeavour'd to engage with *Blake*; but a sudden Storm forced him to Sea, & so dissipated his fleet, that only forty two came home in one Body, the rest singly as well as they could; *Blake* also came home, but went first to the Coast of *Holland*, with 900 Prisoners and six Men of War taken, which were part of twelve which he found and took Guarding their

## Civil Wars of England. 187

their Busses. This was the first Bout after the War declar'd.

In *August* following there hapned a Fight between *De Ruiter* the Admiral of *Zeland*, with fifty Men of War, and *Sir George Ascue* near *Plimouth*, with forty; wherein *Sir George* had the better, and might have got an entire Victory, had the whole Fleet engaged. Whatsoever was the matter, the *Rump* (though they rewarded him) never more employed him, after his return, in their Service at Sea: but Voted for the year to come three Generals, *Blake* that was one already, and *Dean*, and *Mouk*.

About this time Arch Duke *Leopold* Besieging *Dunkirk*, and the *French* sending a Fleet to relieve it, General *Blake* light'g on the *French* at *Calais* and taking seven of their Ships was cause of the Towns Surrender.

In *September* they fought again, *De Wit* and *Ruiter* commanding the *Dutch*, and *Elke* the *English*; and the *Dutch* were again worsted.

Again, in the end of *November* *Van Tromp*, with 80 Men of War shewed himself at the back of *G'duin-sand*, where *Elke*, though he had with him but 40, adventur'd to fight with him, and had much the worst, and (night parting the Fray) retir'd into the River of *Thames*; whilst *Van Tromp* keeping the Sea, took some inconsiderable Vessels fr'm the *English*; and thereupon, (as it is said) with a Childish Vainity hung out a Broom from his Main Top-Mast, signifying he meant to sweep the Sea of all *English* Shipping.

After this, in *February*, the *Dutch* with *Van Tromp*, were encountred by the *English* under *Blake* and *Dean*, near *Portsmouth*, and had the worst. And these were all the Encounters between them this year in the narrow Seas: they fought also once at *Lighorn*, where the *Dutch* had the better.

*B.* I see no great odds yet on either side, if there were any the *English* had it.

*A.* Nor did either of them e're the more incline to Peace, for the *Hollanders*, after they had sent Ambassadors

sadors into *Denmark, Sweden, Poland*, and the *Hanse Towns* (whence Tar and Cordage are usually had) to signify the Declaration of the War, and to get them to their Party, re-called their Ambassadors from *England*, and the *Rump* without delay gave their parting audience, without abating a Syllable of their former severe Propositions, and presently to maintain the War for the next year, laid a Tax upon the People of 120000 l. *per Manſum*.

B. What was done in the mean time at home ?

A. *Cromwel* was now quarrelling (the last and greatest Obstacle to his Design) the *Rump*, and to that end there came out dayly from the Army Petitions, Addresses, Remonstrances, and other such Papers, some of them urging the *Rump* to dissolve themselves, and make way for another Parliament ; to which the *Rump* unwilling to yield, and not daring to refuse, determin'd for the end of their sitting the 5th of *November*, 1654. but *Cromwel* meant not to stay so long. In the mean time the Army in *Ireland* was taking Submissions, and granting Transportations of the *Irish*, and condemning who they pleased in a High Court of Justice erected there for that purpose. Among those that were executed, was hang'd Sir *Phelim Ousale*, who first began the Rebellion in *Scotland* ; the *English* built some Citadels for the bridling that stubborn Nation, and thus ended the year, 1652.

B. Come we then to the year, 1653.

A. *Cromwel* wanted now but one step to the end of his Ambition, and that was, To set his Foot upon the Neck of this long-Parliament, which he did *April* the 23th of this present year, 1653. a time very seasonable : for though the *Dutch* were not master'd, yet they were much weakned, and what with Prizes from the Enemy, and squeezing the Royal Party, the Treasury was pretty full, and the Tax of 120000 l. a Month began to come in, all which was his own in right of the Army : Therefore without any more ado attended by the Major Generals, *Lambert* and *Harrison*, & some other Officers, and

## Civil Wars of England. 189

and as many Souldiers as he thought fit, he went to the Parliament House and dissolv'd them, turn'd them out, and lock'd up the Doors; and for this Action he was more applauded by the people, than for any of his Victories in the War, and the Parliament men as much scorn'd and derided.

**B.** Now that there was no Parliament, who had the Supreme Power?

**A.** If by Power you mean the right to Govern, no body had it; if you mean the Supreme Strength, it was clearly in *Cromwel*, who was obeyed as General of all the Forces in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

**B.** Did he pretend that for Title?

**A.** No, but presently after he intended a Title, which was this, That he was necessitated for the defence of the Cause, for which at first the Parliament had taken up Arms, (that is to say *Rebell'd*) to have recourse to extraordinary Actions; You know the pretence of the Long-Parliament's Rebellion was *Salus Populi*, the safety of the Nation against a dangerous Conspiracy of *Papists*, and a malignant Party at home; and that every man is bound, as far as his Power extends, to procure the safety of the whole Nation, (which none but the Army were able to do, and the Parliament had hitherto neglected) was it not then the Generals duty to do it? had he not therefore right? for that Law of *Salus Populi* is directed only to those that have Power enough to defend the People, that is, to them that have the Supreme Power.

**B.** Yes certainly, he had as good a Title as the Long-Parliament, but the Long-Parliament did represent the People, and it seems to me that the Sovereign Power is essentially annexed to the Representative of the People.

**A.** Yes, if he that makes a Representative, that is (in the present case) the King, do call them together to receive the Sovereign Power, and he divest himself thereof, otherwise not; nor was ever the lower house of Parliament the Representative of the whole Nation, but of the Commons only; nor had that House the Power to oblige

Nge by their Acts, or Ordinances, any Lord or any Priest.

B Did *Cromwel* come in upon the only Title of *Salus Populi*? For this is a Title very few understand?

A, His way was to get the Supreme Power conferr'd upon him by Parliament, therefore he call'd a Parliament, and gave it the Supreme Power, to the end that they should giye it to him again; was not this witty? First therefore he published a Declaration of the Causes why he dissolv'd the Parliament, the sum whereof was, That instead of endeavouring to promote the good of Gods people, they endeavour'd (by a Bill then ready to pass) to recruit the House, and perpetuate their own Power. Next he constituted a Council of State of his own Creatures to be the Supreme Authority of England, but no longer than till the next Parliament should be call'd and met: Thidly he summon'd 142 persons, such as he himself or his trusty Officers made choice of, the greatest part of whom were instructed what to do, obsecrate persons, and most of them *Phanaticks*; though still'd by *Cromwel*, *Men of approv'd fidelity and loyalty*; to these the Council of State surrender'd the Supreme Authority, and not long after these men surrendered it to *Cromwel*. July the fourth this Parliament met, and chose for their Speaker one Mr *Ross*, and called themselves from that time forward *The Parliament of England*. But *Cromwel*, for the more surety, constituted also a Council of State, not of such petty Fellows as most of these were, but of himself and of his principal Officers. These did all the business both publick and private, making Ordinances, and giving Audiences to Foreign Ambassadors. But he had now more Enemies than before: *Harverson*, who was the Head of the Fifth monarchy-men, laying down his Commission, did nothing but animate his Party against him, for which afterward he was Imprisoned. This little Parliament in the mean time were making of Acts so ridiculous and displeasing to the People, that it was thought best to set them on purpose to bring all ruling Parliaments into contempt, and Monarchy again into credit?

I. What

B. What Acts were these ?

A. One of them was, That all Marriages should be made by a Justice of Peace, and the Banns asked three several days in the next Market. None were forbidden to be Married by a Minister, but without a Justice of Peace the Marriage was to be void : so divers wary Couples (to be sure of one another, howsoever they might repent it afterwards) were Married both ways : Also they abrogated the Engagement, whereby no man was admitted to sue in any Court of Law, that had not taken it, that is, that had not acknowledged the late *Rump*.

B. Neither of these did any hurt to *Cromwel*.

A. They were also in hand with an Act to Cancel all the present Laws, and Law-Books, and to make a new Code more suitable to the Humor of the Fifth-Monarchy-Men, of whom there were many in this Parliament; their Tenet being, That there ought none to be Sovereign but King Jesus, nor any to Govern under him but the Saints; but their Authority ended before this Act passed.

B. What is this to *Cromwel* ?

A. Nothing yet; but they were likewise upon an Act, now almost ready for the Question; that Parliaments hence forward, one upon the end of another, should be Perpetual.

B. I understand not this, unless Parliaments can beget one another like Animals, or like the *Phoenix*.

A. Why not like the *Phoenix*? Cannot a Parliament at the day of their Expiration send out Writs for a new one ?

B. Do you think they would not rather Summon themselves anew, and, to save the labour of coming again to *Westminster*, sit still where they were? or if they summon the Counties to make new Elections, and then Dissolve themselves, by what Authority shall the People meet in their County-Courts, there being no Supreme Authority standing ?

*A.* All they did was absurd: though they knew not that, no nor this, whose Design was upon the Sovereignty; the Contrivers of this Act it seems perceiv'd not, but *Cromwel's* Party in the House saw it well enough: and therefore as soon as it was laid, there stood up one of the Members and made a Motion, that since the Commonwealth was like to receive little benefit by their Sitting, they should Dissolve themselves. *Harrison* and they of his Sect was troubled hereat, and made Speeches against it: but *Cromwel's* party, of whom the Speaker was one, left the House, and with the Mace before them went to *White-Hall*, and surrendred their Power to *Cromwel* that had given it them; and so he got the Sovereignty by an Act of Parliament: and within four days after, (*viz.*) *December* 16th. was Installed Protector, and took his Oath to observe certain Rules of Governing engrossed in Parchment, and read before him, the writing was called, *The Instrument*.

*B.* What were the Rules he sware to?

*A.* One was to call a Parliament every third year, of which the first was to begin *Sept.* the third following.

*B.* I believe he was a little Superstitious in the Choice of *September* the third, because it was lucky in 1650 and 1651. at *Dunbar* and *Worcester*, but he knew not how lucky the same would be to the whole Nation, in 1658. at *White-Hall*.

*A.* Another was: That no Parliament should be Dissolv'd till it had sitten five Months, and those Bills that they then presented to him should be passed within twenty days by him, or else they should pass without him.

A third, That he should have a Council of State of not above twenty one, nor under thirteen, and that upon the Protector's Death this Council should meet, and before they parted chuse a new Protector. There were many more besides, but not necessary to be inserted.

*B.* How went on the War against the *Dutch*?

*A.* The



## Civil Wars of England. 163

*A.* The Generals for the *English* were *Blake*, and *Deane*, and *Monk*; and *Van Trump* for the *Dutch*; between whom was a Battel fought the second of *June* (which was a Month before the beginning of this little Parliament) wherein the *English* had the Victory, and drove the Enemies into their Harbours, but with the loss of General *Deane*, slain by a Cannon-shot. This Victory was great enough to make the *Dutch* send over Ambassadors into *England* in order to a Treaty. But in the mean time they prepared and put to Sea another Fleet, which likewise in the end of *July* was defeated by General *Monk*, who got now a greater Victory than before: And this made the *Dutch* descend so far, as to buy their Peace with the payment of the Charge of the War, and with the acknowledgment, among other Articles, that the *English* had the right of the Flag. This Peace was concluded in *March*, being the end of this year, but not proclaimed till *April*; the Money it seems being not paid till then.

The *Dutch* War being now ended, the Protector sent his youngest Son, *Henry*, into *Ireland*, whom also some time after he made Lieutenant there; and sent *Monk* Lieutenant General into *Scotland*; to keep those Nations in Obedience. Nothing else worth remembering was done this year at home, saving the discovery of a Plot of Royalists (as was said) upon the Life of the Protector, who all this while had intelligence of the King's Designs from a Traytor in his Court, who afterwards was taken in the manner, and kill'd.

*B.* How came he into so much trust with the King?

*A.* He was the Son of a Colonel that was slain in the Wars on the late King's side: Besides he pretended Employment from the King's loyal and loving Subjects here, to convey to his Majesty Money, as they from time to time should send him: And to make this credible, *Cromwell* himself caused Money to be sent him, The following year, 1654. had nothing of War, but

was spent in Civil Ordinances, in appointing of Judges, preventing of Plots (for Usurpers are jealous) and in executing of the Kings Friends, and selling their Lands. The third of September, according to the Instrument, the Parliament met; in which there was no House of Lords, and the House of Commons was made as formerly of Knights and Burgeses, but not as formerly two Burgeses of a Burrough, and two Knights for a County; for Burroughs for the most part had but one Burges, and some Counties six or seven Knights; besides there were twenty Members for Scotland, and as many for Ireland: So that now Cromwel had nothing to do, but to shew his Art of Government upon six Coach-Horses newly presented him, which being as rebellious as himself, threw him out of the Coach-Box, and had almost kill'd him:

*B.* This Parliament which had seen how Cromwel handled the two former, the long and the short one, had surely learnt the wit to behave themselves better to him than those had done.

*A.* Yes, especially now that Cromwel in his Speech at their first meeting, had expressly forbidden them to meddle with the Government of a single Person and Parliament, or with the Militia, or with perpetuating of Parliaments, or taking away Liberty of Conscience. And he told them also, that every Member of the House before they sat, must take a Recognition of his Power in divers points; whereupon, of above 400 there appear'd not above 200 at first; though afterwards some relenting, there sat about 300 again. Just at their sitting down, he published some Ordinances of his own, bearing date before their meeting, that they might see he took his own Acts to be as valid as theirs. But all this could not make them know themselves, for they proceeded to the debate of every Article of the Recognition.

*B.* They should have debated that before they had taken it.

*A.* But

## Civil Wars of England. 195

*A.* But then they had never been suffered to sit *Cromwel* being informed of their stubborn proceedings, and out of hope of any Supply from them, dissolv'd them.

All that passed besides in this year, was the Exercise of the High-Court of Justice upon some Royalists for Plots.

In the Year 1654. the *English*, to the number of near 10000, landed in *Hispaniola*, in hope of the plunder of the Gold and Silver, whereof they thought there was great abundance in the Town of *Santo Domingo*; but were well beaten by a few *Spaniards*, and with the loss of near 1000 Men. went off to *Famalea*. and possessed it.

This year also the Royal Party made another Attempt in the West, and proclaimed there King *Charles* the Second; but few joining with them, and some falling off, they were soon suppressed, and many of the principal persons Executed.

*B.* In these many Insurrections, the Royalists, tho they meant well, yet they did but dis-service to the King by their impatience. What hope had they to prevail against so great an Army as the Protector had ready? What cause was there to despair of seeing the King's business better done by the Dissention and Ambition of the great Commanders in that Army, whereof many had the favour to be esteem'd among them as well as *Cromwel* himself?

*A.* That was somewhat incertain: The Protector being frustrate of his hope of Money at *Santo Domingo*, resolv'd to take from the Royalists the tenth part yearly of their Estates: And to this end chiefly, he divided *England* into eleven Major-General-ships, with Commission to every Major-General to make a Roll of the Names of all suspected persons of the King's party, and to receive the tenth part of their Estates within his Precinct: As also to take caution from them not to act against the State, and

to reveal all Plots that should come to their knowledge, and to make them engage the like for their Servants: They had Commission also to forbid Horse-races, and concourse of people, and to receive and account for this Decimation.

F. By this the Usurper might easily inform himself of the value of all the Estates in *England*, and of the Behaviour and Affection of every person of Quality, which has hitherto been taken for very great Tyranny.

A. The year 1656 was a Parliament-year, by the Instrument; between the beginning of this year, and the day of the Parliaments sitting, these Major-Generals relded in several Provinces, behaving themselves most Tyrannically.

Amongst other of their Tyrannies was the awing of Elections, and making themselves, and whom they pleas'd, to be return'd Members for the Parliament, which was also thought a part of *Cromwell's* Design in their Constitution; for he had need of a giving Parliament, having lately upon a Peace made with the *French*, drawn upon himself a War with *Spain*.

This year it was that Captain *Staher* set upon the *Spanish* Plate-fleet, being 8 in number, near *Cadix*, whereof he sunk two and took two, there being in one of them two millions of pieces of 8, which amounts to  
600000 l. sterling.

4. This year also it was that *Jamer Naylor* appear'd at *Dristol*, and would be taken for *Jesus Christ*; he wore his Beard forked, and his Hair compos'd to the likeness of that in the *Polio Santo*; and being question'd, would sometimes answer, *Thou sayest it*. He had also his Disciples that would go by his Horse-side to the mid-le; in dirt. Being sent for by the Parliament, he was Sentenced to stand on the Pillory, to have his Tongue bored through, and to be marked in the Fore-head with the Letter B. for Blasphemy, and to remain in *Bridewell*. *Lambert*, a great Favourite of the Army, endea-

endeavour'd to save him, partly because he had been his Soldier, and partly to curry favour with the Secretaries of the Army; for he was now no more in the Protector's Favour, but meditating how he might succeed him in his Power.

About two years before this there appear'd in *Cromwell's* time a Prophetess, much fam'd for her Dreams and Visions, and hearkened to by many, whereof some were Eminent Officers, but she and some of her Complices being imprison'd, we heard no more of her.

*B.* I have heard of another, one *Lilly*, that prophesied all the time of the Long-Parliament, what did they to him?

*A.* His Prophecies were of another kind; he was a Writer of Almanacks, and a pretender to a pretended Art of Judicial Astrology, a meer Cozener to get maintenance from a multitude of ignorant people, and no doubt had been call'd in question, if his Prophecies had been any ways disadvantageous to the Parliament.

*B.* I understand not how the Dreams and Prognostications of mad men (for such I take to be all those that foretel future Contingencies) can be of any great disadvantage to the Common-Wealth.

*A.* Yes, yes: know there is nothing that renders Humane Councils difficult, but the incertainty of future time, nor that so well directs men in their deliberations, as the fore-sight of the sequels of their Actions. Prophecie being many times the principal Cause of the Event foretold. If upon some prediction the people should have been made to believe confidently, That *Oliver Cromwell* and his Army should be upon a day to come utterly defeated, would not every one have endeavour'd to assist, and to deserve well of that Party should give him the defeat? Upon this account it was that Fortune-tellers and Astrologers were so often banished out of *Rome*,

The last memorable thing of this Year was a Motion made by a Member of the House, an Alderman of *London*, That the Protector might be petitioned and advised by the House to leave the Title of Protector, and take upon him that of King.

*B.* That was indeed a bold Motion, and which would, if prosperous, have put an end to many mens Ambition, and to the licentiousness of the whole Army. I think the Motion was made on purpose to ruine both the Protector himself, and his ambitious Officers.

*A.* It may be so. In the year 1657, the first thing the Parliament did was the drawing up, a Petition to the Protector, to take upon him the Title of King. As of other Parliaments, so of this, the greatest part had been kept out of the House by force, or else themselves had forborn to sit, and became guilty of setting up this King *Oliver*, but those few that sat presented their Petition to the Protector, *April* the 9th, in the Banquetting-house at *Whitehall*.

*Sir Thomas Widdrington*, the Speaker, used the first Arguments, and the Protector desired some time to seek God, the Business being weighty: The next day they sent a Committee to him to receive his Answer, whose Answer being not very clear, they pressed him again for a Resolution, to which he made answer in a long Speech that ended in a peremptory Refusal, and so retaining still the Title of Protector, he took upon him the Government according to certain Articles contained in the said Petition.

*B.* What made him refuse the Title of King?

*A.* Because he durst not take it at that time, the Army being addicted to their great Officers, and among their great Officers many (hoping to succeed him, and the Succession having been promised to Major General *Lambert*, would have mutined against him;) he was therefore forced to stay for a more propitious Conjunction.

*B.* What

**B.** What were those Articles?

**A.** The most important of them were, first, That he would exercise the Office of chief Magistrate of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, under the Title of Protector, and govern the same according to the said Petition and advice; and that he would in his life time name his Successor.

**B.** I believe the *Scots*, when they first Rebell'd, never thought of being Governed absolutely as they were by *Oliver Cromwell*.

**A.** Secondly, That he should call a Parliament every three years at farthest. Thirdly, That those persons which were legally chosen Members should not be secluded without consent of the House. In allowing this Clause, the Protector observed not that the secluded Members of this same Parliament are thereby re-admitted. Fourthly, The Members were qualified. Fifthly, The Power of the other House was defin'd. Sixthly, That no Law should be made but by Act of Parliament. Seventhly, That a constant yearly Revenue of a Million of pounds should be setled for the maintenance of the Army and Navy, and 300000 *l.* for the support of the Government; besides other temporary supplies, as the House of Commons should think fit. Eighthly, That all the Officers of State should be chosen by the Parliament. Ninthly, That the Protector should encourage the Ministry. Lastly, That he should cause a profession of Religion to be agreed on and published. There are divers others of less importance. Having signed the Articles, he was presently with great Ceremonies installed a-new.

**B.** What needed that, seeing he was still but Protector?

**A.** But the Articles of this Petition were not all the same with those of his former Instrument; for now there was to be another House; and whereas before his Council was to name his Successors, he had Power now to do it himself; so that he was an absolute Mo-

narch, and might leave the Succession to his Son, if he would, and so successively, or transfer it to whom he pleas'd. The Ceremony being ended, the Parliament adjourn'd to the 20th of *January* following, and then the other House also sat with their Fellows.

The House of Commons being now full, took little notice of the other House, wherein there were not of 60 persons above nine Lords: but fell a questioning all that their Fellows had done during the time of their Seclusion; whence had follow'd the avoidance of the Power newly placed in the Protector. Therefore going to the House, he made a Speech to them, ending in these words, *By the living God I must and do dissolve you.*

In this year the *English* gave the *Spaniard* another great Blow at *Santa Cruz*, not much less than that they had given him the year before at *Caliz*.

About the time of the dissolution of this Parliament the Royalists had another Design against the Protector, which was to make an Insurrection in *England*, the King being then in *Flanders* ready to second them from thence with an Army: But this also was discover'd by Treachery, and came to nothing, but the ruin of those that were engaged in it, whereof many in the beginning of the next year were by a High Court of Justice imprison'd, and some executed. This year also was Major General *Lambert* put out of all employment, a Man second to none but *Oliver* in the favour of the Army: but because he expected by that favour, or by promise from the Protector, to be his Successor in the supreme Power, it would have been dangerous to let him have Command in the Army, the Protector having design'd his Successor his Eldest Son *Richard*.

In the year 1658. *September* the third, the Protector died at *Whitehal*, having ever since his last Establishment been perplexed with fear of being kill'd by some desperate attempts of the Royalists.

Being



Being importun'd in his sickness by his Privy Council to name his Successor, he nam'd his Son *Richard*; who encouraged thereunto, not by his own Ambition, but by *Fleetwood*, *Desborough*, *Thurloe*, and other of his Council, was content to take it upon him; and presently Addresses were made to him from the Armies, in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*: His first business was, the chargeable and splendid Funeral of his Father.

Thus was *Richard Cromwel* seated in the Imperial Throne of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, Successor to his Father, lifted up to it by the Officers of the Army then in Town, and congratulated by all the parts of the Army throughout the three Nations, scarce any Garrison omitting their particular flattering Addresses to him.

B. Seeing the Army approv'd of him, how came he so soon cast off?

A. The Army was inconstant, he himself irresolute, and without any Military Glory; and though the two principal Officers had a near relation to him, yet neither of them, but *Lambert*, was the great Favorite of the Army, and by courting *Fleetwood* to take upon him the Protectorship, and by tampering with the Soldiers, he had gotten again to be a Colonel; he and the rest of the Officers had a Council at *Wallingford-House* (where *Fleetwood* dwelt) for the disposing of *Richard*, though they had not yet considered how the Nations should be govern'd afterwards. For from the beginning of the Rebellion the method of Ambition was constantly this, first to destroy, and then to consider what they should set up.

B. Could not the Protector, who kept his Court at *Whitehall*, discover what the business of the Officers was at *Wallingford-House*, so near him?

A. Yes: He was by divers of his Friends inform'd of it, and counsell'd by some of them, who would have done it, to kill the chief of them, but he had not cou-

rage enough to give them such a Commission: he took therefore the counsel of some milder persons, which was to call a Parliament, whereupon Writs were presently sent out to those that were in the last Parliament of the other House, and other Writs to the Sheriffs for the Election of Knights and Burgeses to Assemble on the 27th of *January* following. Elections were made according to the antient manner, and a House of Commons now of the right English Temper, and about 400 in number, including 20 for *Scotland*, as many for *Ireland*. Being met, they take themselves, without the Protector and other House, to be a Parliament; and to have the Supreme Power of the three Nations. For the first business they intended the Power of that other House; but because the Protector had recommended to them for their first Business an Act (already drawn up) for the Recognition of his Protectoral Power, they began with that, and Voted (after a fortnights deliberation) That an Act should be made, whereof this Act of Recognition should be part, and that another part should be for the bounding of the Protector's Power, and for the securing the Privileges of Parliament and Liberties of the Subject, and that all should pass together.

**B.** Why did these Men own the Protector at first? In meeting upon his only Summons, was not that as full a Recognition of his Power as was needful? Why, by this example, did they teach the People that he was to be obeyed, and then by putting Laws upon him teach them that he was not? Was it not the Protector that made the Parliament? Why did they not acknowledge their Maker?

**A.** I believe it is the desire of most men to bear Rule, but few of them know what title one has to it more than another, besides the right of the Sword.

**B.** If they acknowledged the right of the Sword, they were neither just nor wise to oppose the present Government, set up and approved by all the Forces of the

the three Kingdoms: The Principles of this House of Commons were no doubt the very same with theirs who began the Rebellion, and would (if they could have raised a sufficient Army) have done the same against the Protector: and the General of their Army would in like manner have reduced them to a *Rump*; For they that keep an Army and cannot master it, must be subject to it, as much as he that keeps a Lion in his house. The temper of all the Parliaments since the time of *Q. Elizabeth* have been the same with the temper of this Parliament, and shall always be such as long as the *Presbyterians*, and Men of Democratical Principles have the like influence upon Elections.

A. After they resolv'd concerning the other House, That during this Parliament they would transact with it, but without intrenching upon the Right of the Peers to have Writs sent to them in all future Parliaments. These Votes being passed, they proceed to another, wherein they assume to themselves the power of the *Militia*: also to shew their supreme Power, they deliver'd out of Prison some of those that had been (they said) illegally committed by the former Protector. Other points concerning Civil Rights, and concerning Religion, very pleasing to the People, were now also under consideration; so that in the end of this year the Protector was no less jealous of the Parliament than of the Council of Officers at *Wallingford House*.

B. Thus 'tis when ignorant men will undertake Reformation. There are three Parties, the Protector, the Parliament, and the Army; the Protector against the Parliament and Army; the Parliament against the Army and Protector; and the Army against the Protector and Parliament.

A. In the beginning of 1659, the Parliament passed divers other Acts, one was to forbid the Meetings in Council of the Army Officers, without order from the Protector and both Houses. Another, that no man shall have any Command or Trust in the Army, who did not  
first

first under his Hand engage himself never to interrupt any of the Members, but that they might freely Meet and Debate in the House. And to please the Soldiers, they Voted to take presently into their consideration the means of paying them their Arrears: But whilst they where considering this, the Protector (according to the first of those Acts) forbad the meeting of Officers at *Wallingford-House*. This made the Government, which by the disagreement of the Protector and Army, was already loose, to fall in pieces. For the Officers, from *Wallingford-House*, with Soldiers enow, came to *Whitehall*, and brought with them a Commission ready drawn (giving power to *Desborough* to Dissolve the Parliament) for the Protector to sign, which also, his heart and his party failing him, he signed. The Parliament nevertheless continued sitting; but at the end of the week the House Adjourned, till the *Monday* after, being *April* the 25. At their coming oir *Monday* morning they found the Door shut up, and the passages to the House fill'd with Soldiers, who plainly told them they must sit no longer. *Richard's* Authority and business in Town being thus at an end, he retir'd into the Country, where within a few days (upon promise of the payment of his Debts, which his Fathers Funeral had made great) he signed a Resignation of his Protectorship.

B. To whom?

A. To nobody. But, after ten days cessation of the Sovereignty, some of the *Rumpers* that were in Town, together with the old Speaker Mr. *William Lenthall*, resolv'd among themselves, and with *Lambert*, *Hastlerig*, and other Officers, who were also *Rumpers*, in all 42, to go into the House, which they did, and were by the Army declar'd to be the Parliament. There were also in *Westminster-Hall* at that time about their private business some few of those whom the Army had secluded in 1648. and were called the secluded Members. These knowing themselves to have been Elected by the

the same Authority, and having the same Right to sit, attempted to get into the House, but were kept out by the Soldiers: The first Vote of the *Rump*, reversed, was, That such persons as were heretofore Members of this Parliament, and have not sitten since the year 1648. shall not sit in this House till farther order of the Parliament: And thus the *Rump* recover'd their Authority *May* the seventh 1659. which they lost in *April* 1653.

B. Seeing there have been so many shiftings of the Supreme Authority, I pray you, for memories sake repeat them briefly in time and order.

A. First, From 1640 to 1648. when the King was murdered, the Sovereignty was disputed between King *Charles* the First, and the Presbyterian Parliament. 2ly, From 1648 to 1653. the Power was in that part of the Parliament which voted the Tryal of the King, and declar'd themselves, without King, or House of Lords, to have the Supreme Authority of *England* and *Ireland*. For there were in the Long-Parliament two Factions, the *Presbyterian* and *Independent*. The former whereof sought only the subjection of the King, not his destruction: and this part is it which was called the *Rump* 3ly, From *April* the 20 to *July* the 4. the Supreme Power was in the Hands of a Council of State constituted by *Cromwel*. 4ly, From *July* the 4 to *December* the 12 of the same year it was in the Hands of Men called unto it by *Cromwel*, whom he termed men of Fidelity and Integrity, and made them a Parliament, which was called in contempt of one of the Members, *Barebone's* Parliament. 5ly, From *December* the 12, 1653, to *September* the 3. 1658, it was in the hands of *Oliver Cromwel*, with the Title of Protector. 6ly, From *September* 1658 to *April* the twenty fifth 1659. *Richard Cromwel* had it as Successor to his Father. 7ly, From *April* the twenty fifth 1659. to *May* the seventh of the same year it was no where.  
8ly,

8ly. From *May* the 7th 1659. the *Rump*, which was turn'd out of Door 1653. recovered it again, and did lose it again to the Committee of Safety, and again recover it; and again lose it to the right Owner.

*B.* By whom and by what Art came the *Rump* to be turn'd out the second time?

*A.* One would think them safe enough, the Army in *Scotland*, which when it was in *London*, had helped *Oliver* to pull down the *Rump*, submitted now, beg'd pardon, and promis'd Obedience. The Souldiers in Town had their pay mended, and the Commanders every where took the old Engagement, whereby they had acknowledged their Authority heretofore; they also received their Commissions in the House it self from the Speaker, who was *Generalissimo*, *Fleetwood* was made Lieutenant-General, with such and so many limitations as were thought necessary by the *Rump*, that remembered how they had been serv'd by their General *Oliver*: Also *Henry Cromwell* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, having resign'd his Commission by Command, returned into *England*.

But *Lambert*, to whom (as was said) *Oliver* had promis'd the succession, and as well as the *Rump* knew the way to the Protectorship by *Oliver's* own foot-steps, was resolv'd to proceed in it upon the first opportunity, which presented it self presently after.

Besides some Plots of Royalists, whom after the old fashion they again persecuted, there was an Insurrection made against them by Presbyterians in *Cheshire*, headed by Sir *G. Booth*, one of the secluded Members, they were in number about 3000, and their pretence was for a Free-Parliament: There was a great talk of another Rising or endeavour to Rise in *Devonshire* and *Cornwall* at the same time: To suppress Sir *George Booth*, the *Rump* sent down more than a sufficient Army under *Lambert*, which quickly defeated the *Cheshire* party, and recover'd *Chester*, *Liverpool*, and all the other places they had seized; divers of their Commanders

ders in and after the battel were taken Prisoners, whereof Sir *George Booth* himself was one.

This exploit done, *Lambert*, before his return, caressed his Soldiers with an entertainment, at his own house in *York-shire*, and got their consent to a Petition to be made to the House; that a General might be set up in the Army, as being unfit that the Army should be judged by any power extrinick to it self.

B. I do not see that unfitness.

A. Nor I. But it was (as I have heard) an action of Sir *Henry Vane's*: But it so much displeased the *Rump*, that they Voted, that the having of more General's in the Army, than were already settled, was unnecessary, burthensom, and dangerous to the Commonwealth.

B. This was not *Oliver's* method; for though this *Cheshire* Victory had been as glorious as that of *Oliver's* at *Dunbar*, yet it was not the Victory that made *Oliver* General, but the resignation of *Fairfax*, and the proffer of it to *Cromwel* by the Parliament.

A. But *Lambert* thought so well of himself, as to expect it; therefore at his return to *London*, he and other Officers assembling at *Wallingford-house*, drew their Petition into form, and called it a representation, wherein the chief point was to have a General; with many other of less importance that were added: And this they represented to the House *October* the 4<sup>th</sup>, by Major General *Desborough*. And this so far forth awed them, as to teach them so much good manners, as to promise to take it presently into debate, which they did; and *October* the 12<sup>th</sup>, having recovered their Spirits, Voted, That the Commissions of *Lambert*, *Desborough*, and others of the Council at *Wallingford-house*, should be void. Item, That the Army should be governed by a Commission to *Fleet-wood*, *Monk*, *Hastlerig*, *Walton*, *Morley*, and *Overton*, till *Feb.* the 12<sup>th</sup> following; and to make this good against the Force they expected from *Lambert*, they ordered *Hastlerig*

*rig* and *Morley* to issue Warrants to such Officers as they could trust, to bring their Soldiers next Morning into *Westminster*, which was done somewhat too late, for *Lambert* had first brought his Soldiers thither, and beset the House, and turn'd back the Speaker, which was then coming to it; but *Hastlerig's* Forces marching about *St. James's Park* wall, came into *St. Margaret's Church-yard*, and so both Parties looked all day one upon another like Enemies, but offered not to fight; whereby the Rump was put out of possession of the House, and the Officers continued their meeting as before, at *Waltingford house*; there they chose from among themselves, with some few of the City, a Committee, which they called *The Committee of Safety*, whereof the chief were *Lambert* and *Vane*, who, with the advice of a General Council of Officers, had Power to call Delinquents to Tryal, to suppress Rebellions, to treat with Foreign States, &c. You see now the Rump cut off, and the Supreme Power (which is charged with *Salus Populi*) transferred to a Council of Officers, and yet *Lambert* hopes for it at the end. But one of their Limitations was, That they should within six Weeks present to the Army a new Model of the Government. If they had done so, do you think they would have prefer'd *Lambert*, or any other, to the Supreme Authority rather than themselves?

*B.* I think not. When the Rump had put into Commission (among a few others) for the Government of the Army, that is, for the Government of the three Nations, General *Monk*, already Commander in chief of the Army in *Scotland*, and that had done much greater things in this War than *Lambert*, how durst they leave him out of this Committee of Safety? or how could *Lambert* think that General *Monk* would forgive it and not endeavour to fallen the Rump again.

*A.* They thought not of him, his Gallantry had been shewn on remote Stages, *Ireland* and *Scotland*; his



his Ambition had not appeared here in their Contention for the Government, but he had complied both with *Richard* and the *Rump*. After General *Monk* had signified by Letter his dislike of the proceedings of *Lambert* and his Fellows, they were much surpriz'd, and began to think him more considerable than they had done, but it was too late.

B. Why, was his Army not too small for so great an Enterprize?

A. The General knew very well his own and their Forces, both what they were then, and how they were to be augmented, and what generally City and Country wished for, which was the Restitution of the King; which to bring about, there needed no more but to come with his Army (though not very great) to *London*, to the doing whereof there was no obstacle but the Army with *Lambert*. What could he do in this Case? If he had declar'd presently for the King, or for a free Parliament, all the Armies in *England* would have joyned against him, and, assuming the Title of a Parliament, would have furnished themselves with Money. General *Monk*, after he had thus quarrell'd by his Letter with the Council of Officers, he secur'd first those Officers of his own Army which were *Anabaptists*, and therefore not to be trusted, and put others into their places; then drawing his Forces together, march'd to *Berwick*. Being there he indicted a Convention of the *Scots*, of whom he desired, That they would take order for the security of the Nation in his absence, and raise some maintenance for his Army in their march. The Convention promis'd for the security of the Nation, their best endeavour, and rais'd him a sum of money, not great, but enough for his purpose, excusing themselves upon their present wants. On the other side, the Committee of Safety, with the greatest and best part of their Army, sent *Lambert* to oppose him; but at the same time, by divers Messages and Mediators, urged him to a Treaty, which

which he consented to, and sent 3 Officers to *London* to treat with as many of theirs. These six suddenly concluded, without power from the General, upon these Articles, That the King be excluded, a free State settled, the Ministry and Universities encouraged, with divers which the General liked not, and imprisoned one of his Commissioners for exceeding his Commission; whereupon another Treaty was agreed on, of five to five. But whilst these Treaties were in hand, *Hastlerig*, a Member of the Rump, seized on *Portsmouth*, and the Soldiers sent by the Committee of Safety to reduce it, instead of that entred into the Town, and joyned with *Hastlerig*. Secondly, the City renewed their Tumults for a free Parliament. Thirdly, the Lord *Fairfax*, a Member also of the Rump, and greatly favoured in *York-shire*, was raising Forces there behind *Lambert*; who being now between two Armies, his Enemies, would gladly have fought the General. Fourthly, there came news that *Devon-shire* and *Cornwal* were listing of Soldiers. Lastly, *Lambert's* Army wanting Money, and sure they should not be furnished from the Council of Officers, which had neither Authority nor Strength to levy money, grew discontented, and for their Free-Quarter were odious to the Northern Countries.

*B.* I wonder why the *Scots* were so ready to furnish General *Monk* with money, for they were no Friends to the Rump.

*A.* I know not; but I believe the *Scots* would have parted with a greater Sum, rather than the *English* should not have gone together by the Ears among themselves. The Council of Officers being now beset with so many Enemies, produced speedily their Model of Government, which was to have a free Parliament, which should meet *December 15*, but with such Qualifications of no King, no House of Lords, as made the City more angry than before. To send Soldiers into the West, to suppress those that were rising there, they durst not, for fear of the City; nor could they raise any

any other, for want of money; there remained nothing but to break, and quitting *Wallingford-house*, to shift for themselves. This coming to the knowledge of their Army in the North, they deserted *Lambert*, and the Rumpers, *December 26*, re-possessed the House.

*B.* Seeing the Rump was now defeated, the business, pretended by General *Monk* for his marching to *London*, was at an end.

*A.* The Rump, though seated, was not well settled, but (in the midst of so many Tumults for a free Parliament) had as much need of the General's coming up now, as before. He therefore sent them word, that because he thought them not yet secure enough, he would come up to *London* with his Army; which they not only accepted of, but entreated him so to do, and voted him for his service 1000 *l.* a year.

The General marching towards *London*, the Country every where Petition'd him for a free Parliament. The Rump, to make room in *London* for his Army, dislodg'd their own. The General, for all that, had not let fall a word in all this time, that could be taken for a Declaration of his Final Design.

*B.* How did the Rump revenge themselves on *Lambert*?

*A.* They never troubled him; nor do I know any cause of their so gentle dealing with him. But certainly *Lambert* was the ablest of any Officer they had to do them service, when they should have means and need to employ him. After the General was come to *London*, the Rump sent to the City for their part of a Tax of 100000 *l.* a month for six months, according to an Act which the Rump had made formerly before their Disseisin by the Committee of Safety. But the City, who were averse to the Rump, and keen upon a free Parliament, could not be brought to give their money to their Enemies, and to purposes repugnant to their own; whereupon the Rump sent Order to the General to break down the City Gates, and their Portcullises, and to imprison certain obstinate Citizens: This he perform'd, and it was the last service he did them. *A.*

About this time the Commission, by which General Monk with others had the Government of the Army put into their hands by the Rump, before the Usurpation of the Council of Officers, came to expire, which the present Rump renewed..

*B.* He was thereby the sixth part of the General of the whole Forces of the Common-wealth; if I had been as the Rump, he should have been sole General. In such cases as this, there cannot be a greater Vice than pinching: Ambition should be liberal.

*A.* After the pulling down of the City Gates, the General sent a Letter to the Rump, to let them know that this service was much against his Nature; and to put them in mind, how well the City had serv'd the Parliament in the whole War.

*B.* Yes; but for the City the Parliament could never have made the War, nor the Rump ever have murdered the King.

*A.* The Rump considered not the Merit of the City, nor the good nature of the General. they were busie, they were giving out Commissions, making of Acts for Abjuration of the King and his Line, and for the Old Engagement, and conferring with the City to get Money. The General also desir'd to hear a Conference between some of the Rump, and some of the secluded Members, concerning the Justice of their Seclusion, and of the hurt that could follow upon their re-admission, and it was granted. After long Conference, the General finding the Rumps pretences unreasonable and ambitious, declar'd himself with the City for a free Parliament, and came to *Westminster* with the secluded Members, (whom he had appointed to meet and stay for him at *Whitehall*) and re-placed them in the House among the Rumpers; so that now the same Cattel that were in the House of Commons in 1640. (except those that were dead, and those that went from them to the late King at *Oxford*) are all there again.

*B.* But

B. But this methinks was no good service to the King, unless they had learnt better Principles.

A. They had learnt nothing; the major part was now again *Presbyterian*. 'Tis true, they were so grateful to General *Monk*, as to make him General of all the Forces in the three Nations: They did well also to make void the Engagement; but it was because those Acts were made to the prejudice of their Party, but recalled none of their own Rebellious Ordinances, nor did any thing in order to the good of the present King; but on the contrary, they declar'd by a Vote, that the late King began the War against his two Houses.

B. The two Houses, considered as two Persons, were they not two of the King's Subjects? If a King raise an Army against his Subject, is it lawful for the Subject to resist with force, when (as in this case) he might have had Peace upon his submission.

A. They knew they had acted vilely and sottishly; but because they had always a greater than ordinary wisdom and godliness, they were loth to confess it: The *Presbyterians* now saw their time to make a Confession of their Faith, and presented it to the House of Commons, to shew they had not changed their Principles; which (after six Readings in the House) was voted to be printed, and once a year to be read publickly in every Church.

B. I say again, this re-establishing of the Long Parliament was no good service to the King.

A. Have a little patience: they were re-established with two Conditions; one to determine their sitting before the end of *March*, another to send out Writs before their rising for new Elections.

B. That qualifies.

A. That brought in the King; for few of the Long-Parliament (the Country having felt the smart of their former service) could get themselves chosen again. This new Parliament began to sit in *April 25. 1660.* How soon these called in the King, with what Joy and

and triumph he was receiv'd, how earnestly His Majesty pressed the Parliament for the Act of Oblivion, and how few were excepted out of it, you know as well as I.

B. But I have not yet observ'd in *Presbyterians* any Oblivion of the former principles, we are but return'd to the state we were in at the beginning of the Sedition.

A. Not so; for before that time, though the Kings of *England* had the right of the *Militia* in virtue of the Sovereignty, and without dispute, and without any particular Act of Parliament directly to the purpose; yet now after this bloody dispute, the next, which is the present Parliament, in proper and express terms hath declar'd the same to be the right of the King only, without either of his Houses of Parliament; which Act is more instructive to the people, than any Arguments drawn from the Title of Sovereignty, and consequently fitter to disarm the ambition of all seditious Haranguers for the time to come.

B. Pray God it be so; howsoever I must confess, that this Parliament has done all that a Parliament can do for the security of our peace; which I think also would be enough, if our Preachers would take heed of instilling evil Principles into their Auditory. I have seen in this Revolution a circular motion of the Sovereign Power, through two Usurpers, from the late King, to this his Son; for (leaving out the power of the Council of Officers, which was but temporary, and no otherwise owned by them, but in trust) it moved from King *Charles the First*, to the Long-Parliament, from thence to the Rump, from the Rump to *Oliver Cromwell*, and then back again from *Richard Cromwell* to the Rump, thence to the Long-Parliament, and thence to King *Charles the Second*, where long may it remain.

A. Amen. And may he have, as often as there shall be need, such a General.

B. You have told me little of the General, till now in the end: but truly, I think, the bringing of his little Army entirely out of *Scotland* up to *London*, was the greatest Stratagem that is extant in History.

D  
H 2213

15234

REPRODUCED FROM THE ORIGINAL  
IN THE HENRY E. HUNTINGTON  
LIBRARY AND ART GALLERY.  
FOR REFERENCE ONLY.  
PERMISSION NECESSARY FOR  
REPRODUCTION.